

THE JONES PHILIPPINE BILL

SPEECHES

OF

HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM THE PHILIPPINES

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 26-OCTOBER 14, 1914



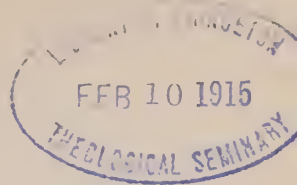
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WASHINGTON

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

SEPTEMBER 26, 1914.

The Philippine Bill a Much-Needed Piece of Legislation.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I call up House resolution 606, a privileged resolution from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

"House resolution 606.

"Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 18459, "A bill to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands." There shall be not exceeding eight hours of general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES] and one-half by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER]. At the conclusion of the general debate the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule, and after being perfected the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make; whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit. All members speaking upon the bill or amendments offered thereto shall have the privilege of extending their remarks in the RECORD, and all members shall have the right to print remarks for not exceeding five legislative days: *Provided*, That all debate shall be confined to the subject matter of the bill."

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Speaker, if, before listening to the remarks offered here this morning, I had not already been certain that the passage of the Philippine bill is a matter of paramount importance to the Filipino people, I should now, after hearing those remarks, be convinced that it is so. This bill, aside from its aspect as an expression of a definite policy looking toward Philippine independence, contains provisions whereby the Philippine Government will be enabled hereafter to take care of itself and of the interests of the Filipino people without the necessity of constantly appealing to Congress whenever important legislation for the islands is needed. My experience in Congress during four years of continuous service in this body has made me feel that the greatest handicap to the proper advancement of the welfare of the people of the Philippines is the lack of active interest on the part of this body in matters pertaining to them. That I was right in this view has been fully demonstrated by the very arguments adduced against the immediate consideration of this bill. I make this point, Mr. Speaker, not in any spirit of criticism, but as a mere statement of fact. I fully realize how the Members of the Congress might feel that questions affecting directly the American people are of more importance and demand more immediate attention

than those directly affecting the people of the Philippines. But while due allowance should be made for this point of view, such difficulty in securing prompt consideration of our needs by the Congress is, nevertheless, injurious to the interests of the Philippine Islands, and it shows how seriously ample legislative powers are needed by the Philippine Government that it may not be dependent upon a body that is primarily concerned with other interests.

Mr. Speaker, we are told by those who are opposing this rule that the Philippine bill should not have the right of way over the other bills on the calendar, because the former is of less importance to the American people than the latter. The radium bill has been particularly cited as of more immediate concern to the United States. Such assertions have been made in the face and in spite of the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs [Mr. JONES] that the Philippine bill is a measure necessitated by the fact that the Philippine Government finds itself facing a very serious crisis because of the European war, without having means to meet that crisis. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES] has, in effect, stated that you would either have to present the Philippine Government with the money it needs for its own maintenance or allow that Government to raise the required money by granting it, as provided for in this bill, the powers to that end, or else see that Government go into the hands of a receiver. I can assure the committee that, sad as it is, the assertion of the gentleman from Virginia states but the bare facts. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] assures us that the Congress, without enacting this bill, might pass for the Philippine Government such independent measures as will relieve it of its embarrassments. That may be true; but would Congress take such a step if this rule should be defeated? If we should fail to secure action on the Philippine bill, which, because of the policy it establishes regarding the future relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands, directly affects the interests not only of the Filipino people but of the American people as well, though perhaps not in so apparent a manner, how can anyone convince himself that a bill of a purely local application affecting the Filipino people exclusively would gain the attention of the Congress? I, for one, do not believe it.

As for receiving a monetary present from the United States, Mr. Speaker, such a gift is hardly to be expected. More, if you were to ask me which I should prefer—the granting of power to the Philippine Government which would help it to help itself by levying upon the Filipino people additional taxes with which to meet its financial obligations, or a monetary present from the American people. I should unhesitatingly answer that I would prefer that power to the proposed present. Why? Simply because people who want to be free ought to be willing to assume the burden of self-government. [Applause.] In no better way could the Filipino people show that they are entitled to be free than by being willing to meet their own troubles instead of accepting a charity. I can assure the House that this dignified attitude is the one that my people desire to take. [Applause.] * * *

Mr. Speaker, there are, besides, other and perhaps even more forceful reasons why this bill should now be considered. The United States have been in control of the Philippine Islands since 1898. In 1902 there was enacted a law entitled "An act temporarily to provide for the government of the Philippine Islands." The very title of this act is an announcement that no definite policy regarding the Philippines was thereby determined, unless by implication drawn from some of the sections contained in that act. Twelve years have now elapsed since the passage of the measure. It is well-nigh time therefore that some concrete and clear definition of your Philippine policy be afforded.

Mr. Speaker, nothing imposes a greater handicap upon the proper advancement of the Filipino people than this lack of definite policy authoritatively stated—that is to say, by the Congress. We do not now possess that peace of mind so essential to our happiness; the country suffers from a constant political agitation that, if it does not paralyze, at least interferes with the even course of our material and intellectual development. And this intense agitation will never abate until we are assured, as the Philippine bill does assure us, that we may look forward to the day when independence shall be granted. Again, if I may be permitted to make the suggestion, the Congress is bound to settle this question not only as a matter of plain duty to the Filipino people but because the American public should be notified whether their representatives have chosen to follow the imperialistic policies of the Old World or have decided to stand by the time-honored American policy—that of equal rights and equal opportunities between small and large countries. This is a duty, Mr. Speaker, that every Member of this House, regardless of his political affiliation, is bound to discharge. As for the members of the majority, they are by virtue of their platform, particularly bound to consider and to pass the Philippine bill at once.

The Democratic Party has already enacted several measures fulfilling certain of its preelection promises. Among these are the tariff, the currency, the antitrust bills—all now on the statute books. There remains unredeemed the platform pledge that the Democratic Party "favors an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to grant the Philippines their independence as soon as a stable government shall have been established in the islands." The Democratic Party has been long enough in power to forbid further postponement of that declaration. From the standpoint of the Filipino people this congressional declaration should have preceded all other legislation; but seeing that the Democratic Party might believe that its prime obligation was to enact laws affecting its domestic obligations, we silently awaited our turn. Should this session end without action in at least one House of the Congress regarding the Philippine bill, or should this Congress go out of existence without such a bill becoming law, the disappointment of the Filipino people will know no limits.

Mr. Speaker, opponents of this rule say that this is not the time to consider the Philippine bill because of the European war. Were this bill to grant Philippine independence, such an

argument might have great weight, since troublesome days—days when the passions of men seem to have run beyond control—are not the opportune time for the launching of a feeble nation upon its earliest career. But the Philippine bill simply establishes a more autonomous government for the islands and informs the whole world that the Filipino people are not to be forever under the control of the United States. I say, Mr. Speaker, that precisely because the bill does this it should now be passed. The present, owing to the war, is the psychological time to enact such a measure. I have already stated why the Philippine Government must have at this juncture a nearer approach to autonomy than ever before. It needs powers to save itself from a threatening disaster. And for a declaration to the world regarding the future severance of the political relationship between the United States and the Islands, what better time than this, when other nations, though at war, are making similar declarations? [Applause.]

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1914.

A Holy Cause.

Mr. MILLER said: The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES], in a most remarkable statement last Saturday and somewhat further to-day, claims that this bill is desired by the Filipino people; that they want this bill. * * *

I want to introduce the membership of the House to some of the yearnings on the part of the Filipino people for this bill. I am going to read to you an account of some meetings called in the Philippine Islands the minute they heard about this bill and what it provided. * * *

There were many of these meetings where there were thousands and thousands present, protesting in the strongest language against the Jones bill. * * *

That was a meeting called by the friends of Señor QUEZON and Señor EARNSHAW that Señor EARNSHAW might have himself a favorable opportunity for presenting the terms of this bill and, if possible, to get the Filipino people to like it. * * *

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I shall not now discuss the merits of the pending bill except perhaps incidentally, and only as such discussion may be required for the proper understanding of what I intend to say. I wish to address myself to some of the remarks just made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] in his elaborate and eloquent speech, which I could not fail to admire, however much I might disagree with him.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] said that the Filipino people are against this bill, so much so that at a great meeting held in Manila at the instance of friends of my colleague [Mr. EARNSHAW], and myself, for the purpose of giving Mr. EARNSHAW a favorable opportunity to present this bill and, if possible, to get the Filipino people to approve it, there was almost a riot because the immense majority of the people gathered at that meeting insisted that in the resolution or vote of confidence in favor of the Resident Commissioners which was at the time presented there a provision be included instructing the Resident Commissioners to urge the Congress to set a fixed date at which independence should be granted. To an accompaniment of cheers, says the gentleman from Minnesota, this last provision was attached to and became a part of the resolution as finally adopted by the meeting. My friend from Minnesota read to us some newspaper accounts of that meeting, as

well as some comments referring to this bill as affecting or surely to affect the future of the political party to which I am proud to belong. Among these comments I particularly noticed the prediction that the absence from the bill of a fixed date for the granting of independence will bring about the death sentence of the Nationalist Party—my party.

Mr. Chairman, I thank my friend from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] for the courteous expression of his hope that that prediction might not prove true. I want to tell the gentleman, however—and this comes from the very bottom of my heart—that if the enactment of this bill, meaning as it will the authoritative recognition of the inherent right of the Filipino people to be independent and the solemn declaration that they shall be granted that independence; that thereafter the Filipino people shall have the power, as it is their right, to say what must and what must not be done in their country; that the happy end of a foreign oligarchical government in the Philippines shall arrive; that the Filipinos shall no longer be considered the least and the last factor in the counsels of the government of the Philippine Islands, nor ignored by those who are but their guests; if, I say, the enactment of this bill and its conversion into law, with all and more than all this wealth of significance, shall prove to be the death sentence of the Nationalist Party—much as I love my party, to which I have belonged ever since it was founded; much as I care for the political fortune of my comrades, many of whom are the dearest friends I have; much as I value my own interests, which would go down into oblivion together with both my party and my comrades—I emphatically say, let that death come when it will, I welcome it. For, over and above my party, over and above my comrades, over and above myself, I love my people, their welfare and their rights. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Ah, Mr. Chairman, I have already staked too much in this noble task to which I have consecrated my life to permit myself to hesitate as to my course, now that the goal is within sight, whether for partisan or for other selfish considerations. I took the field when little more than a mere boy, suffering hunger, fatigue, and every kind of privation, and exposing myself in many a battle; I have been for six months confined as a prisoner of war; I have been for a long time a sick man as a result of the miserable life I led in the mountains during those years that I was a soldier. Later I have carried on a campaign in this country with tongue and pen. All this I have done that I might see my native land made the arbiter of its own destinies; and now, when the great onward step toward the realization of my ambition is to be taken, should I be so cowardly, so faint-hearted, so false to myself as to withdraw for party's sake? No, never!

Mr. Chairman, the work wherein I am engaged, together with the membership of my party, is not a political affair. To the rank and file of my party, to its leaders—and in speaking of these leaders I can not refrain from mentioning by name the foremost of them all, the patriotic, the industrious, the brilliant man to whom more than to anyone else the Nationalist Party owes its success, Speaker Osmeña, of the assembly—to them and to me this work is not a political enterprise, in the common sense of that term. It is a patriotic undertaking, that

affects our national honor, our national rights—indeed, our very national life. It is the question of all questions. It is a cause—a great, holy cause. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, must we go down to defeat? Must we go out of office? If we must, so as to secure at this time more governmental powers and more liberty for our people than they now enjoy, then we shall willingly go down to defeat, we shall gladly go out of office. Must the party which alone stood by the people through thick and thin, in the hours of trial, of tribulation, of danger, be rent asunder? If it must be, so that we may obtain a solemn promise that the ideal for which that party is fighting—the independence of the Philippines—shall be realized, then let that party be destroyed. After all, when this bill shall have been passed, the Filipino people can well afford to dispense with the services of the Nationalist Party, because while independence will not yet have been granted, its consummation will nevertheless have been assured. It would be only a matter of time and dependent solely upon the Filipino people themselves. After this bill shall have been passed, it would be an easy, perhaps, a profitable, effort to bring about the actual declaration of Philippine independence. Thereafter, men of proven patriotism, who could be induced neither by fear nor cupidity to betray the legacy of our martyrs, will not be needed. Others who in easy and comfortable times respond to the call of their country may then serve the public need as well.

Mr. Chairman, the allurements of public office are not so strong as to be irresistible. Men can live without being listed on a pay roll. In fact, it often happens that those who have some capacity and some desire to work would be better off, both economically and otherwise, if engaged in private pursuits.

The Nationalist Party does not care for power or for offices, as is evidenced by the fact that many of its members would not take, in the beginning of American occupation, positions offered to them by the American Government. The Nationalist Party has entered the political arena for a purpose nobler and higher than that of gaining power and drawing salaries for its members. It is in the political arena because at one time—in days that tried men's souls—there was offered to the world the sad but not unprecedented spectacle of a handful of Filipinos filling the Government positions in the islands who joined our adversaries in the claim that independence was neither wanted by the Filipino people nor should be granted them, because they were incapable of governing themselves. Squarely and fearlessly to face this untrue and unjust proposition, the Nationalist Party came into existence. It went before the people with the cause of immediate independence as its standard, so that the Filipino electorate might at the polls choose whether the lives of those who died that their country might live should have been wasted. It sought for its members the elective offices of the Philippine Government so that it might show through them the capacity of the people for self-government. Thus to secure these offices was for that party a necessary means to a noble end. The Filipino people in every popular election spoke their mind and their feeling. There was the ideal of the Nationalist Party. This question decided, the party labored for the realization of that ideal. Its members when in office gave eloquent testimony of the capacity of the

Filipino people. In the municipal and provincial governments they proved to be equal to their tasks. In the Philippine Assembly first, and later in the Philippine Commission, they demonstrated by their wisdom, by their devotion to duty, by their unselfishness, that the Filipino people actually are capable of governing themselves; and while this demonstration was thus being made, the party, through its own memorials, through assembly resolutions adopted by the votes of Nationalist members, and through the personal representations of the Nationalist Resident Commissioner, urged the Congress of the United States to grant the Philippine Islands immediate independence.

The Nationalist Party has kept faith with the people; it has done its duty and its best to promote their cause. And it is now discharging that duty and doing its best to promote that cause by indorsing this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I wish I could have been spared the necessity of singling out any one political party in the Philippine Islands upon the floor of this House. I am here, though a Nationalist, as the representative of all the Filipino people. It has been my honor to receive the unanimous vote of the members of the Philippine Assembly regardless of their political affiliations, and in return for that honor I have invariably represented the interests of my people at large, and never, since I have been Resident Commissioner, have I ever done or said anything in this country for the advancement of the interests of my party. The remarks of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], however, have compelled me to defend my comrades and associates, as it was my obvious duty to do so, because they have been very loyal to their constituency. Sir, without fear of successful contradiction, I say here that the Nationalist Party in the Philippine Islands has been the faithful guardian of the ideals of our people, and the loyal advocate of their rights.

Mr. Chairman, it is true that the meeting alluded to by my friend from Minnesota did take place in Manila, and that thousands of people participated in that meeting. It is also true that the sentiment of the majority in that meeting was very strongly against this bill. I have given my word, and I am now redeeming it, that I should inform the Congress as to their attitude. But this is all I am ready to do in deference to them. I shall not oppose this bill. I should have preferred the former Jones bill, which contained a fixed date when independence was to be granted, and the Filipino people would have preferred that bill. In fact, I did everything in my power to have that bill reintroduced and enacted. I did more than that—I submitted to some of the powers that be the proposal that Speaker Osmeña, in consultation with the leaders of our party, both in and out of the assembly, had in mind as the best measure for Philippine independence. I could do no more. Is it desired that, having failed in that effort, I should, rather than accept this bill, suffer the old order of things to continue in the islands, so that if another President of the United States should be elected and should deem best to do so, he could reappoint a majority of Americans to the Philippine Commission? Is it desired that, rather than accept this bill, I should allow the Philippine Commission to continue in existence, with the ex-

clusive power of governing one portion of the archipelago and with the right to dispose, of its own free will, of the funds raised from the Filipino people for that portion of the country under its exclusive jurisdiction? Is it desired that, unable to get a promise of independence, with a fixed date, I should let the Congress of the United States stand absolutely noncommittal on this most vital question affecting the future of my people? No; I could not do that. I will not do that. I should betray the confidence of my constituency. I should fail in my grave task. I should not discharge an imperative duty. Moreover, I should be a traitor were I to follow such a course; and rather than do any of these things I should tear to pieces my commission; I should resign and, with a conscience free of remorse, retire to my native village.

Mr. Chairman, I am under no obligations to do as I am bid by the Manila meeting. That was not a national convention. The participants in that meeting were not elected by the people of the archipelago to assemble for the purpose of approving or disapproving this bill. The persons therein gathered represented but themselves and expressed but their own personal opinion. We should be going far enough if we consider the resolution adopted in that meeting as an expression of the opinion of the people of the city of Manila, since there were only between five and six thousand people, according to the newspaper reports, while the population of Manila is about 250,000 inhabitants. But suppose the meeting did represent the opinion of the people of Manila, is there anyone bold enough to assume that Manila constitutes the Philippine Islands? It must be borne in mind that Manila has only two representatives in the national assembly. As the representative of the Filipino people I do not consider it my duty to comply with instructions coming from any particular province of the islands, but to represent the opinion of the majority of the Filipino people. And this I should do only as long as I could represent them consistently with my own personal convictions. Whenever there should be a clash between my convictions and the instructions that I receive from the Filipino people I should deem it my proper course in such a case neither to misrepresent those of whom I am but the representative nor to misrepresent myself, and therefore I should resign my position rather than either be untrue to my constituency or to myself. Were it a fact that the majority of the Filipino people were against this bill, I, as their representative, could not, and I should not, have advocated this bill. But I am so convinced that its enactment into law is to the interests of my country that sooner than obey a mandate of my constituency to oppose it, when my firm conviction is contrary to their wishes, I should have given them the opportunity of sending here another Commissioner.

The truth, however, is that the immense majority of the Filipino people are for this bill. They have taken the sensible and patriotic view that, since the former Jones bill could not now be enacted, it would have been the height of folly, it would be a useless, stupid kind of political suicide, to defeat this bill. So they have instructed me to support it and to do all I can to have it passed. Two hundred and forty-seven municipal councils, four assemblies of municipal presidents, eight provincial boards, seventy mass meetings, and the executive national committee

of the Nationalist Party, which is the majority party in the Philippines, have all indorsed this bill, while only the meeting in Manila and two or three municipal councils are against it. In compliance with these instructions, therefore, quite as truly as in accord with my own conviction, I am for this bill.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] said that he believes I have kept faith with my people, but that he knows that the Democratic Party has not kept faith with me. If I may say so myself, I will tell the gentleman that I did keep faith with my people. Since I first came to the United States as a Resident Commissioner, with the mandate that I work for the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, I have done everything in my power to discharge that duty. With my hand upon my heart I feel that I can lift my head and say I have done my best as God gave me the light to see it. [Applause on the Democratic side.] But while the gentleman's belief about me is true, I am not prepared to admit that what he says he knows about the Democratic Party's not keeping faith with me is also true.

Mr. Chairman, I am neither a Democrat nor a Republican, nor even a Progressive. The Filipinos take no sides in your partisan differences. My words, therefore, on behalf of the Democratic Party, which, I am sure, the party does not need, are not dictated by a partisan motive. The Democratic Party, considering all the circumstances, has kept faith, and is keeping faith, with the Filipino people. Of course it is only just that I should say that the Democratic Party in presenting this bill is doing neither all that we hope and expect it to do by us nor as much as we hoped and expected it would do at this juncture. But when it is remembered that we are not Americans, nor a part of the American electorate and how often preelection promises are forgotten, both the administration at Washington and in the islands, as well as the Congress, may properly claim for what they have done and now propose to do the good will and the gratitude of the Filipino people.

In so far as the administration is concerned, I can say this: President Wilson has not been fully six months in the White House when he appointed as Governor General for the Philippine Islands a man so sympathetic with the ideals of my people and so deeply interested in their advancement and welfare that he is now idolized by them. President Wilson had not been a full seven months in the White House when he announced in an unmistakable way to the Filipino people, in a message delivered to them by his appointee, the new Governor General, his policy as regards the Philippines. In that message the President made the promise that as a first step toward the performance of his policy he would place in the hands of Filipinos by the exercise of his executive power of appointment the control of the upper house of the Philippine Legislature, thus giving the people of the islands all the legislative power vested in their government. Hardly one month had elapsed since that promise was made when President Wilson appointed a majority of Filipinos in the Philippine Commission. If we bear in mind the very serious and delicate questions, both foreign and domestic, that the President had to meet immediately upon his assumption of office, we shall have to admit that he has exceeded what reasonably could have been expected from him under ordinary circumstances.

And it is not the President alone who has thus acted toward the Filipino people both justly and with so manifest a regard for their interests. The men under him, through whom his announced policy is being carried out, are acting toward the Filipino people as does the President. The Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, in everything he says and does shows that to him the Philippine question is a moral, not a partisan, question, and it is with the highest of motives that he deals with every phase of that question that goes to him for solution.

Gov. Gen. Harrison, the representative of this administration and of the American people as well in the Philippine Islands, has already done too much to promote our ideals and our welfare to need any comment.

As to the Congress, we have now here, pending before the House and brought forward with a special rule, this bill—a bill that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER], the ranking member of the minority in the Committee on Insular Affairs, denounces as a partisan measure, because it has a preamble which is a copy of the Philippine plank of the Democratic platform. If we remember that this is only the first regular session of the first Congress Democratic in both branches, and if we further remember that there were many important measures that had to be speedily passed, as demanded by the American people, and others still pending that also require prompt attention, the leaders of the Democratic Party in Congress may properly say that they are promptly redeeming the preelection promises of their party. This bill is, indeed, under the circumstances a strenuous effort to comply in a timely way with the Philippine plank of the Democratic platform. And while I am speaking of the Congress, it is my pleasure and my duty to give public testimony of the sincere affection and love that every Filipino—man, woman, and child—has for the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Virginia, Hon. WILLIAM ATKINSON JONES. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia has served on the Committee on Insular Affairs continuously since that committee was organized, and during all that time, first as the ranking minority member of that committee and now as its chairman, he has unflinchingly stood by the rights of the Filipino people and defended their interests both in and out of session. Every municipality and Province of the Philippines records in its archives a resolution of thanks, of love, for Mr. JONES, and Mr. JONES deserves it. I have seen him working hard on his former bill. I have seen him this very year, when he knew that he could not secure the passage of that bill, drafting the present bill, ill as he was, and doing everything he could to urge it to an early consideration. Mr. JONES has indeed endangered his own health in his endeavor to have his party redeem its pledges in the interest of the Filipino people. And I should say, in passing, that the mere fact that he has introduced this bill instead of his former bill, when I know that he has not changed his opinion about the points at issue, is a conclusive proof that this bill is the best measure we can obtain at this time, that it has genuine intrinsic merit, and that, therefore, we had better accept it.

Needless it is to say that the majority members of the Insular Committee, in particular the distinguished gentleman

from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], have all actively helped their chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I am not singing the glories of this Democratic administration and of this Democratic Congress for the benefit of Democratic candidates. My words on this occasion will not be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD until perhaps a few days prior to your elections. Indeed, I do not believe my words could change, in any event, even a single vote. Neither have I spoken for the purpose of gaining favor with the party in power. I expect nothing, I want nothing for myself, from the administration. I deem it my duty to make these statements because it is to the interest of the Filipino people themselves as much as to that of the Government of the United States that the people of the islands shall not lose their faith in your administration and in your Congress. Mr. Chairman, I know that it is a part of the political game to claim for oneself all the credit and to blame one's opponents for all the evil in the world, and it is but natural that in the midst of an electoral campaign the speakers on each side of this House should throw stones at one another on every occasion that may arise. But, if I may be permitted to advance a suggestion, let me say, Mr. Chairman, that the Philippine bill is not the proper opportunity for making these campaign speeches. Every speaker should bear in mind that there are two main parties to this question—the American Government and people on the one hand, and the Filipino people on the other. What you say about yourselves will not be read in the Philippines by the light of political fireworks. It will be taken seriously there; very seriously, indeed.

If you should unguardedly say something about your parties, your administration, and your Congress that would create distrust, lack of confidence, on the part of the Filipino people in your Government and your people, your already difficult problem in the Philippines will be made insoluble. Mr. Chairman, I am earnest in my desire that the membership of this House should not treat the Philippine question as a partisan question, because their words—though, of course, we who are familiar with your politics all know that those words are not meant as they sound—may have a very bad effect in the Philippines. I do not want my people to lose or to slacken their confidence in the United States when there is no reason therefor. No party in the United States has any base design to betray the Filipino people; no party would do it if it could. I have several times crossed this country from one end to the other; I think I have fairly succeeded in my efforts to learn the general sentiment of the American people regarding the Filipino people; I have conversed with Americans occupying high places in public life, both Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives, as well as with persons in private pursuits; I have addressed American audiences, large and small, on the subject of the Philippines, and my observation gives me the right to say that the feeling of the American people in general toward the Filipinos is one of friendship, of real interest for their aspirations and for their welfare. There is no question in my mind that when Americans say that the United States in dealing with the Filipinos is imbued solely with altruistic purposes or motives, their statements truly describe the situation. Of course, this does not mean that there may not be some Americans here and there who have self-

ish interests and who are influenced by selfish purposes in connection with the islands. I know some of them by sight and by name; but these are few and the exception to the rule. I have been serving in this House now for four consecutive years, first under a Republican majority and now under Democratic control. I can say without hesitation that the membership of the Congress—Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives alike—are as friendly, as generous, and as altruistic in their feeling and ideas toward the Filipinos as are the American people at large. With me it has been a question of finding out who among you are in the highest sense our friends, not who are our enemies. I am fully convinced that such differences of opinion as exist in Congress regarding the kind of legislation to be passed for the Philippines are due solely to your differences of opinion as to what is best for the Filipinos themselves and not what may be to the interest of Americans in the islands or of the United States. There is, therefore, no cause for any recrimination, and you all know that there is none. You are all our friends, and you are all trying to do your best for us.

It would be a tragedy, and the main losers would be the Filipinos themselves, should they have no faith in this great Nation. Already, as I understand, the argument advanced in favor of a fixed date for the granting of independence is that without it the Filipino people can not rest assured that independence shall be granted.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say to those Filipinos who thus think, and who because of these arguments are not disposed to take this bill which contains no fixed date for independence, that the redemption of the pledge to grant the Philippines independence does not depend on the detail whether there is or there is not any fixed date therefor. The redemption of that promise will depend purely and exclusively upon the good faith of the American people. Should the American people be unwilling to redeem a promise made to us, the fixing of a date would help matters in no respect. Were the Filipino people in position to demand by force the performance by the American people of their promises, I should say that a promise with a fixed date for its completion would perhaps be better than one without it, for we should then know when the day of reckoning would begin. But as we are powerless to enforce the redemption of the promise in one case just as we are in the other, the date of the fulfillment is, from this point of view, of no, or of very little, consequence. We have learned through the hardest of lessons that we can gain nothing by force from the people of the United States, and it is well-nigh time that we should know that nothing would more assuredly defeat our hopes for the future than any attempt at the use of violence to secure the recognition of our independence. We are absolutely at the mercy of this powerful Nation, and we can only appeal to the sentiments of justice and fair dealing of the American people if we are ever to reach the goal of our ambition. Mr. Chairman, I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to give in all earnestness a word of advice to my own countrymen. They should have faith in this country, and should demonstrate it by their deeds as well as by their words. The fixing of the date or the establishment of the conditions

for the granting of independence is a proposal which I favored in the former Jones bill. I should still favor it now were it possible to embody it in this bill, but such a provision is demanded by considerations not connected in any way with the possibility of bad faith on the part of the American people. [Applause.]

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1914.

The Philippine Bill.

The SPEAKER. Under the special rule the House automatically resolves itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House bill 18459, with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Flood] in the chair.

Thereupon the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 18459) to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands, with Mr. Flood of Virginia in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 18459, the Philippine bill, of which the Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

"A bill (H. R. 18459) to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands."

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, the bill we are now discussing is of momentous importance to 10,000,000 people on the other side of the Pacific Ocean; it affects their life, their property, their welfare, and, what is more vital than all else, their liberty. The action of the Congress upon this bill will determine whether the long struggle for freedom, wherein those people have been engaged with untold sacrifice in life and wealth, will be crowned with success or doomed to disheartening failure.

The bill is also important to 100,000,000 people on this side of the Pacific; it puts to a test the foundations of their national life and it affects their national duty as much as their national honor.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BILL.

Let no man upon this floor have any doubts regarding the nature of the question upon which he is to vote. In its last analysis that question is simply this: Will you, as a Christian and powerful Nation, do to another Christian but weak nation what the Golden Rule commands you to do? Will you, as the offspring of those who pledged their lives, their property, and their sacred honor to the enforcement of the principle that all men are born free and are entitled to their freedom, and that just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, be true to the covenant of your fathers? Nay, the question involves more than the observance or disregard of a duty imposed by general or, as some may cynically say, outworn principles. The question is whether you are ready to redeem or would prefer to repudiate concrete and recent promises, both expressed and implied, made in the name of your faithful and honorable Nation to the people of the Philippine Islands, that the dawn of a glorious day shall come when full justice will be done them and when every opportunity shall be

given for self-development and progress under the auspices of their own free and independent flag. [Applause.]

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Mr. Chairman, the Philippines are an archipelago lying between latitudes 21° and 40° north and between meridians 116° and 127° east longitude. On these islands nature has bestowed with generous hand and in harmonious combination her riches and her beauties. Millions of acres of agricultural land capable of growing all kinds of tropical products: forests with excellent woods in large quantity and variety: mines of gold and silver and rich deposits of lead, iron, and petroleum: glorious sunsets, moonlight and stormy nights, cascades, lakes, valleys, rivers, mountains, volcanoes, enchanting inland seas, and beautiful panoramas make this land the "Pearl of the Orient."

This is the country which in the daybreak of a beautiful May morning of 1898 witnessed the majestic entrance into Manila Bay of a powerful fleet bearing the death sentence of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippine Islands.

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

This country was then, as it is now, the dwelling, the home, of a people homogeneous in race, one in religion—with the exception of a proportionately small number of uncivilized non-Christians—welded together into a common nationality and united in a single overmastering ambition—to be free and independent.

These people had then been, for three long centuries, subject to the civilizing and ennobling influence of the doctrines of the Saviour, which they had espoused and which taught them the equality and the dignity of men. Science, arts, and letters were then familiar subjects among the leaders of that people, as public instruction was already within reach of the masses, a large percentage of whom had become literate. Social life among the wealthy and highly educated class was similar to that of the corresponding class in western Europe, except that there were never aristocratic tendencies among the wealthy and educated Filipinos. An ideal home with mutual devotion between husband and wife and between parents and children constituted the solid foundation of this growing community. The hospitality and sobriety of these people were then, as they are now, among their most conspicuous characteristics, just as their thirst for education and love for freedom were and are their greatest national virtues.

Such were the people who a decade and a half ago fell under the sovereignty of the United States.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING THE SPANISH RÉGIME.

Mr. Chairman, the foregoing general but true description of the Filipino people would naturally give the committee an idea as to their education previous to American occupation different from and opposite to the impression that the remarks of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] made the other day would convey. The gentleman from Minnesota in the course of his speech said:

When the American flag was first unfurled in that part of the globe there was no adequate system of public instruction. There was a "paper system" promulgated by the Spanish Government, which was never put into effect.

Then he proceeded :

If you could read the beautiful reports which the Governor General sent back to the Cortes of Spain, you would find many glowing accounts of the schools and the teachers and the pupils, but the teachers and the schools and the pupils had little physical existence outside of the imagination of the man who penned the lines. There were some schools back a little earlier than 1898. They were church schools; there were no public schools, however, under the supervision of the Government excepting a limited few.

Mr. Chairman, at the time these remarks were made by the gentleman from Minnesota he was kind enough to allow me to make the statement that there were public schools in the Philippines long before American occupation, and that, in fact, I was myself educated in one of those schools, although my native town is a very small village isolated in the mountains of the northeastern part of the island of Luzon. What I then said I now reiterate.

That the system of public instruction established by the Spanish Government was far less efficient than the system established by the United States is, of course, unqualifiedly true; but that such a system was to be found only on "paper," and that the teachers and the schools and the pupils had little actual existence outside of the "imagination" of the man who wrote that paper is very wide of the mark.

Why, Mr. Chairman, as early as the year 1866, when the total population of the Philippine Islands was only 4,411,261, and when the total number of municipalities in the archipelago was 900, the number of public schools was \$41 for boys and \$33 for girls, and the number of boys attending these schools was 135,098 and of girls 95,260; and these schools were real buildings, and the pupils alert, intelligent, living human beings. In 1892 the number of schools had increased to 2,137, of which 1,087 were for boys and 1,050 for girls. I have seen with my own eyes many of these schools and thousands of these pupils. They were not "church schools," but schools created, supported, and maintained by the Government.

How real these schools were can be gathered from the paragraph that I shall directly read from the Philippine census—an American-made document. It should be noted that to a certain extent the census shares the pessimistic views of the gentleman from Minnesota regarding said schools, yet it admits that the schools were something more substantial than the creatures of a prolific imagination. After giving the number of schools and pupils as I stated them and depicting the deficiencies of that system of education, the census makes this remarkable admission :

Popular instruction attained a more than average advance, evidently due to the natural talent, the virtue of the race, and its precocity and willingness to be educated, all of which were characteristic and common qualities of young Filipinos.

How could any advance in popular instruction have been possible at all if there were no schools and no teachers and no pupils?

LITERACY PRIOR TO AMERICAN OCCUPATION.

There is still another evidence of the existence of old schools and of the pupils I have described. According to this same census, those who could neither read nor write when you arrived at Manila were only 55.5 per cent of the population 10 years of

age and over. How did the remaining 44.5 become literate? By intuition perhaps? [Laughter.]

I am inclined to believe, Mr. Chairman, that the utterances of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] upon which I have commented were more or less rhetorical figures of speech. The gentleman's gift as a born orator does not seem to permit him to adhere merely to bare, cold facts. He doubtless meant only to convey to the committee a graphic idea of the unsatisfactory system of education and of the poor quality of the schools under Spain as compared with the system and the schools we now have. If so, the gentleman from Minnesota has more than a mere excuse for his statement; he has a justification in fact. [Laughter and applause.]

But while I could thus explain the seeming inaccuracy of the gentleman from Minnesota, I am at a loss to understand, Mr. Chairman, how it was possible for the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], a distinguished and learned professor, as I am informed he is, to make upon this floor the amazing remark that to-day 85 per cent of the population of the Philippines can neither read nor write!

It will be noticed that the figures of the census I have already cited regarding persons who could neither read nor write were 55.5 per cent, or 30 per cent lower than the figures given by the gentleman from Ohio; and, further, that those figures of the census represented the degree of literacy prior to 1903, while the figures of the gentleman from Ohio refer to the supposed illiteracy in this year of grace 1914. Is it possible that illiteracy in the Philippines was lower before American schools were established there? Have we, then, retrograded? Can these American schools have served to render the Filipino people more illiterate than before? What a humiliating tale would that be for the American government in the islands, whose beneficial and uplifting influence has been so enthusiastically described by the gentleman from Ohio himself. Fortunately for you and for us, Mr. Chairman, and for the common glory of both your teachers and our youth, such is not the case, for instead of going backward we have, as everybody knows, gone onward by leaps and bounds. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

PRIVATE SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, AND UNIVERSITY UNDER SPAIN.

Mr. Chairman, returning to the condition of education during Spanish régime, I have shown convincingly to the most skeptical, I think, that there were public schools in the Philippines, though not half as good or as numerous as the schools of to-day, half a century before American occupation, and that those schools were not private or church schools, as the gentleman from Minnesota would have us believe. It is absolutely true, however, that besides these public schools there were also church and other private schools, as there were colleges and one university where professional training was given. Some of these institutions preceded for many hundred years the establishment of Government schools. Founded and supported by private funds, these institutions were to be found not only in Manila but in the Provinces as well. The more important of the colleges were Santo Tomás, San Juan de Letrán, Ateneo Municipal, Escuela Normal, San José, Escuela Náutica Nacional, Escuela de Contaduría, Academia de Pintura y Dibujo, and the seminaries in Manila, Nuevo Segovia, Cebu,

Jaro, and Nueva Caceres. The college of Santo Tomás, founded in 1519, was converted into the university of the same name in 1645, since which date this institution of learning has given to the scientific world distinguished men in almost every branch of science. Bishops, members of the Spanish Parliament, high officers in the Spanish Army, priests, judges, doctors in philosophy, in medicine, and in laws are to be found in the long list of distinguished pupils of this ancient alma mater of the Filipino youth. Living witnesses to-day of the efficiency of these colleges, seminaries, and this university are the speaker of the Philippine Assembly, the three Filipino members of the insular supreme court, among them the chief justice, who was honored by the University of Yale with the degree of doctor of laws, the Filipino members of the Philippine Commission, the two Filipino bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, the members of the Assembly, the attorney general, the Filipino judges of the courts of first instance, the provincial fiscals (prosecuting attorneys), the provincial governors, some of the Filipino treasurers, and some of the professors in the government university. In a word, almost every one of the Filipino officials occupying responsible and important positions now were all educated at those centers, since the youth educated in American schools have not as yet attained the maturity to occupy such positions.

AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Mr. Chairman, enough of this past history. Let me now come down to the education of the day. I need not, I am sure, long detain the committee on this subject, for there are few things among those accomplished in the Philippines during your time that have been so widely published as the work done in education. It may not be amiss, however, to indicate that the average enrollment for the last 10 years of our public schools has been half a million, and that the number of public schools, according to the latest report of the director of education, is 4,394. How much these schools have accomplished can be gathered from the following statement of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in his report to the Secretary of War of March, 1913: "At least 3,000,000 children have been instructed in English," said Gen. McIntyre.

There is a further evidence of the achievement of these schools. When they were first established in the islands, in view of the fact that all the instruction had to be given in English, and that there were scarcely any Filipinos who knew this language, few, if any, Filipinos were appointed teachers. To-day, of the total of 9,483 teachers teaching English 8,825 are Filipinos. I shall pause here, Mr. Chairman, long enough to compare the statement made by the gentleman from Minnesota as to the capacity of the Filipino teacher to take charge of a school independent of any American supervision with that recently made by the director of education.

Let me read what the gentleman from Minnesota said in his speech:

I also wanted to see what was the result to the school of removing American supervision. So I traveled and I saw. I found that wherever American supervision was immediate, was direct, was there on the ground, the work of the teacher and the children and the school was efficient. It was what you might call satisfactory. The spirit was good. The morale was good. Things were shipshape. The atmosphere was such as you would like to see in a school. But, without a single exception, when you removed that immediate supervision and

allowed a school in charge of a Filipino teacher to be removed and separated and to exist by itself the decline was immediate and most disheartening.

Oh, I visited so many of the schools that if they had not been named "schools" I would never have known that they were schools, because the supervision was not there, eloquently testifying to the capacity of the Filipino teachers to respond to the ideas that they see and to the utmost importance of the supervision and direction on the part of the American supervising force. This does not mean the Filipino teacher never can be self-reliant; it simply means that, while advancing, he has not yet reached it.

Contrast with this the words of the director of education in his special report of January 23, 1914:

It has been the policy of the bureau of education to lay an increasing amount of responsibility upon the Filipino teacher. As a result, where five years ago there were 70 Filipino and 390 American supervising teachers, there are to-day 124 Filipino supervising teachers and 185 American. Moreover, there are a number of Filipinos assigned to work which is at least equal in importance and responsibility to that of the supervising teachers. There are now 29 Filipino provincial industrial supervisors, and this number will be constantly increased. There are at present 120 intermediate schools with Filipino principals. Five years ago there were 208 Filipino and 366 American teachers engaged in intermediate instruction. At the present time there are 430 Filipinos and 148 Americans. Primary instruction, except in a very few classes where special work is being carried on, is entirely in the hands of Filipinos.

It would not be far from the truth to state that the school system as it existed seven years ago, with the exception of certain administrative officers, has been almost completely Filipinized.

Evidently the director of education would not have increased and would not contemplate a further increase in the number of Filipino supervisors if such a policy resulted in defective service. And it is also evident that the opinion of the director of education is more authoritative in this case than that of the gentleman from Minnesota, for the director of education has had more time and opportunity to know the facts, while it has been his daily business to acquaint himself with the work of the Filipino teachers.

HIGHER INSTRUCTION OF TO-DAY.

Keeping pace with the marvelous progress in the number and quality of our public schools since American occupation, private schools and colleges have also increased numerically, so that to-day not only the old private schools and the institutions of higher instruction are in existence in the Philippine Islands, but thousands upon thousands of new private schools and scores of colleges for girls and boys and one more university sustained by the government, every one filled almost to its full capacity with students, are to-day being carried on.

Before passing to another subject it is interesting to notice that the most striking feature of Filipino life to-day is the ardent desire for education. I shall quote, because it expresses the consensus of opinion on the subject in the most concrete and beautiful way, a few paragraphs of a speech made by Col. Harbord before the Lake Mohonk conference in 1909. Col. Harbord, who has been for over 10 years a colonel of constabulary stationed in the Philippines, said:

No sojourner in the Philippines can fail to notice the intense desire of all classes of the people for education. It is the wish of which he will be most constantly reminded. Servants, coachmen, laborers, hundreds of them, carry little phrase books of short-language methods and are earnestly striving to learn English. * * * Public money for education is one appropriation never criticized by the vernacular press of Manila. Night and day schools are well attended, and in some of the former local officials, overcoming their fear of ridicule and swallowing their pride, have sat beside their own children as pupils learn-

ing English. * * * Certainly the desire for education is one of the moving motives of Filipino life to-day. Parents make the most complete sacrifices to send their children to school, and the pupils themselves endure hunger and privation to secure learning.

PRESENT LITERACY ESTIMATED.

In view of what has been said, Mr. Chairman, I think I can safely predict, without being overoptimistic, that if a new census were to be taken to-day among the Christian population the degree of illiteracy will be found to have fallen to 15 or 20 per cent; or, in other words, the 85 per cent mentioned by the gentleman from Ohio will not represent those who can neither read nor write, but those who can both read and write.

FILIPINO APPRECIATION OF THE BENEFITS OF THE AMERICAN RÉGIME.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not take up more time of the committee in discussing the merits of the school system established in the islands by the United States. The rapidity with which the English language has spread throughout the archipelago and the readiness with which Filipinos have become both able to use that language and able also to teach it stand as an eloquent testimonial not only to the intellectual capacity of the Filipino people but also to the efficiency of that system, as well as to the ability and devotion to duty of American teachers, both men and women, who have done so much and so well by the Filipino youth. God bless them. We shall never be able to repay their labors. An elaborate discussion of that system has been offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], and, with the exception of the statement regarding the Filipino supervising teachers to which I have already referred, I can substantially indorse what he said.

* * * * *

THE EPHEMERAL PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now turn to another topic. In view of the fact that there has been constant—I had almost said intentional—misrepresentation of the ephemeral Philippine Republic, its objects, and its achievements since the day when its upholders and framers were scattered by the American forces, I feel it incumbent upon me on this occasion, when a new era in the life of my country is dawning, to refer, however briefly, to that great and immortal event in the history of the Philippine Islands.

Prof. Jorge Bocobo, of the Philippine University, in his recent historical monograph on the life of Felipe G. Calderon, affords the following accurate and able review of the facts regarding the first Republic of the Eastern Hemisphere:

On September 15, 1893, the Philippine Congress met at Barasoain, Province of Bulacan, composed of the best men that the island of Luzon could give. There were over 90 members, of whom about 40 were lawyers, 16 physicians, 5 pharmacists, 2 engineers, and 1 priest. The rest were merchants and farmers. Many of the representatives were graduates of European universities. Pedro A. Paterno, a lawyer, educated in Spain, and a distinguished publicist, was the president of the assembly. On September 17, Paterno delivered a thrilling speech in the name of human liberty. Among other things he said:

"Filipinos, to-day begins a new era; we are beholding the political resurrection of our people. Amidst the glooms of yesterday, amidst the graves of our heroes and martyrs, amidst the ruins of the past, there arises and stands the refulgent genius of liberty, embracing all the islands and uniting the Filipinos with bonds of holy brotherhood.

"Liberty is the ideal purpose of our existence on earth, the foundation of life and progress.

"Our past, the era of cruelty, of deceit, of slavery, has ended. We shall renew the history of the Philippines. * * *

"Filipinos, proceed! Let our steps be unflinching and ever forward; let them be steps of justice, of love, of harmony, and of charity; let us win the sympathy of the whole world with generous and humanitarian deeds; and let us write in the presence of the Lord, of the Supreme Being, the oath of our independence."

The rules of the Spanish Congress were temporarily adopted. Committees were immediately created, one of which was composed of 18 members, most of whom were able lawyers. Calderon likewise formed a part of the committee; he was requested to draft the constitution. The committee reported the proposed constitution, through Calderon, on October 8, 1898. The discussion of its articles in the congress began on October 26 and ended November 29, when it was approved and immediately transmitted to Aguinaldo for promulgation, which, however, was not done until December 23 on account of certain amendments recommended by the executive. The constitution was discussed article by article in 17 meetings, Calderon strongly defending his work from the attacks made. Among those who were prominent in the debates were Tomas G. del Rosario, Arcadio del Rosario, Joaquin Gonzales, Ignacio Villamor, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Alberta Barretto, Aguedo Velarde, and Pablo Teesen Roque.

The committee reported:

"The work which the committee has the honor to submit to the consideration of the congress is one of real selection, for the execution of which this committee has borne in mind not only the French constitution, which has been made the basis, but also those of Belgium, Mexico, Brazil, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, because these nations are believed to be the ones most similar to our people."

The first representative to take the floor was Arcadio del Rosario, who contended that the work of the committee should have been molded by the Constitution of the American Nation, which, "being the champion of liberty, is the most democratic nation, and with which the Filipino people are united by strong ties of friendship and sympathy." Calderon replied that the gratitude which the Filipino people owed the American Nation did not oblige them to adopt the institutions of the latter, taking into consideration the differences in their history, usages, and customs, and that the country was most akin, politically, to the South American Republics and other Latin nations. The latter opinion prevailed in the convention, which fact does not surprise those who know the forces that lie at the bottom of Filipino institutions, and upon which those who would require as a condition precedent to Philippine independence a form of government patterned after the American Republic should seriously reflect.

The constitution established a democratic republic, which was parliamentary or responsible, unitary, and unicameral. The principle of separation of powers was recognized, although the legislative branch was supreme.

The preamble was formulated in the following terms:

"We, the representatives of the Filipino people, legally assembled to establish justice, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty, imploring the aid of the Supreme Legislator of the Universe in order to attain these ends, have voted upon, decreed, and sanctioned the following political constitution."

This constitution was of a temporary nature, as the people had not yet elected delegates to a constitutional convention.

POLITICAL STATUS.

Title 1, headed "Of the Republic," contained the following declarations:

"The political association of all Filipinos constitutes a nation, whose State shall be known as Philippine Republic.

"The Philippine Republic is free and independent.

"Sovereignty resides exclusively in the people."

These fundamental statements defining the status of the Republic were expedient and timely, for the reason that the Malolos government was just coming into light. However, during the debate the objection was made that the second declaration was premature. Another point raised was that the proposed constitution did not determine the territorial limits of the Republic.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Title 2, headed "Of the government" had but one article, as follows:

"The government of the Republic is popular, representative, alternative, and responsible, and is exercised by three distinct powers, which are denominated legislative, executive, and judicial.

"Two or more of these powers shall never be united in one person or corporation, nor shall the legislative power be vested in one individual."

The committee, referring to this important declaration, reported:

"The committee needs but a little effort to demonstrate the need of faithfully carrying out the doctrine of Montesquieu. * * * Hence the establishment, absolutely independent from the executive and judicial powers, of the national assembly, synthesis of popular sovereignty and genuine representative of the highest prerogative of the people, which is to make laws."

The foregoing must be read in connection with what Calderon said several years afterwards, that "the Congress of the Republic was the supreme power in the whole nation." It is clear, therefore—and a reading of the constitution will show it—that the English and French idea of making the legislature sovereign took hold of the Philippine convention. What causes led to the adoption of such principle? The revolution against Spain created a class of leaders who, on account of the troublous times, assumed ample powers. This was to a certain extent necessary for the time being, but the representatives saw the extreme peril involved by such state of affairs if continued indefinitely, so they curtailed the power of the executive. It must not be understood, however, that they were ever moved by the same reckless spirit which prevailed in the constituent assembly during the first years of the French Revolution. Nor is it to be supposed that Mabini, who was the adviser of Aguinaldo, ever desired to make the latter a dictator.

Neither the article under consideration nor any other provision stated whether the government was federal or unitary. But a simple glance at the constitution reveals the fact that the latter system was sanctioned. This feature of the constitution did not excite much controversy, as the centuries of Spanish centralization had ingrained in the habits of the people the practices of a unitary government.

RELIGION.

Title 3 deals with religion. Calderon proposed to follow the examples of Spain, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Costa Rica, and Santo Domingo by the establishment of a State religion, the Roman Catholic. However, he was in favor of allowing the private exercise of any other religion, provided it was not contrary to morals and good customs and did not subvert the security of the nation. His idea was strongly opposed in the house, and this produced the most learned and eloquent debate during the life of that body. The opposition was led by Thomas G. del Rosario. The debate lasted four days, the speakers, especially Calderon and del Rosario, exhausting the arguments on both sides and showing such profound knowledge of history and the science of government that any legislature in the world would be proud to have on its record a similar discussion. The first vote was a tie—25 to 25—which indicates the irresistible logic of both sides. The president declined to cast his deciding vote, so another one was taken. At the second voting Representative Pablo Tecson Roque, who did not vote at the first one, voted in favor of the opposition. Title 3, therefore, read thus:

"The State recognizes the liberty and equality of all religious worship, as well as the separation of the church and state."

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Title 4 was headed thus: "Of Filipinos and their national and individual rights." This paragraph had 27 articles, in which the privileges and immunities of freemen were clearly and emphatically formulated. Aliens were likewise protected, as the new government was intended to win the support of the enlightened opinion of the world. The said rights were freedom from false and arbitrary imprisonment; writ of habeas corpus, security of private property; the prohibition of criminal convictions unless by a competent court and according to the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime; inviolability of private dwelling; liberty to choose one's residence and exemption of Filipinos from deportation; secrecy of correspondence; freedom of the press, right of petition, and to form associations not contrary to public morals; freedom of instruction, primary education being compulsory; right of aliens to engage in their profession or industrial pursuit; prohibition of special courts, except military and naval courts having jurisdiction over crimes against discipline; illegality of institutions permanently entailing property and prohibition of titles of nobility; and invalidity of taxes not imposed by the assembly or other competent authority and in accordance with the form prescribed by law. There were three articles of general character:

"No Filipino who may be in the full enjoyment of his civil and political rights shall be hindered in the free exercise thereof.

"Crimes committed on the occasion of the exercise of the rights stated in this title shall be punished by the courts according to the law of the land.

"The enumeration of the rights stated in this title does not imply the prohibition of others not especially consecrated."

Some of these articles had for their source the Spanish constitution of June 30, 1876. A few were taken from the Belgian constitution of February 30, 1831, such as article 29, which ordered that no previous authorization was necessary to prosecute public officials. The enumeration, however, was broader and more effective than that of the constitutions of Spain and Belgium. It compared favorably with the declaration of rights contained in the constitution of any country. This was because the representatives of the Filipino people cherished the idea of constructing a government founded upon the imperishable truths secured by the human race from kindergarten and upon those indestructible principles which constitute the mainstay of modern civilization.

However, it is doubted by many whether the Philippine Republic could have protected these constitutional liberties. It must be admitted, however, that the Filipino people, in consecrating these salutary principles at the first opportunity they had, without even waiting for the result of the diplomatic negotiations at Paris, and at the very time when militarism was at the height of its infuence in the Philippine Republic, have shown that there is in the wool and warp of their social fabric a strong, firm attachment to liberty and law, a force which, had the Republic been recognized, would have summoned the energies of the nation in the upbuilding of a stable and progressive state. No one denies the possibility of disorder in a country with a newly organized government, but the question as to whether social convulsions are apt to become chronic depends largely, if not exclusively, upon the temper and habits of the people. Now, the Filipino people are peaceful and slow to condemn the enormity of abuses. They do not have the impetuosity of character and the revolutionary spirit of Spaniards and Spanish-Americans. Their respect for the constituted authorities has been observed by American officials and demonstrated by the undeniable fact that the Spanish Government, in spite of its intolerable oppression, easily maintained order for centuries with a small number of soldiers. If we take into account this trait of the Filipinos, it is reasonable to presume that the constitutional safeguards declared in the Malolos document would have been supported and upheld by a strong and steady government. But it is often said that the "politicians" would have produced anarchy and chaos and that such constitutional guaranties would have been a contemptible mockery. The experience of the Spanish-American Republics is pointed out to strengthen the contention. But a mere presidential election can plunge most of the countries south of the United States into a civil war and thus force a suspension of individual rights, because the leaders take advantage of the indomitable nature and warlike tendencies of the people. In the Philippines only a question of life and death to the country could produce a serious commotion, because the Filipinos are law-abiding and self-restraint is a dominant feature of their national character.

The remaining titles, except the last two, treated of the structure of the Philippine republic. Titles 5 and 6 dealt with the legislative power; titles 7 to 9, with the executive department; title 10, with the judiciary; and title 11, with provincial and municipal governments. Title 12 was about finance, title 13 provided for the amendment of the constitution, and title 14 referred to constitutional oath and other matters. There were also some temporary provisions.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The legislature was unicameral, the examples of Greece, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Santo Domingo having been followed. This system has been so generally rejected that an explanation of the reasons for its adoption in the islands would seem not to be out of place. There were three grounds upon which Calderon based his proposal: (1) That in the Philippines there were no conflicting interests, as in Europe and the United States; (2) that the country was in a formative period, and the existence of two chambers was liable to clog and embarrass the affairs of the state; and (3) that there might not have been enough men for both chambers. The Malolos congress did not devote much attention to this important question. It was simply taken for granted that there was no need of an upper house, which, it was feared, might have become the balldark of special privileges. This action of the assembly demonstrated its overruling spirit, which was to banish from these shores all institutions which had a propensity to crush democratic polity. The writer is not unmindful of the fact that in most cases the purpose of an upper chamber is merely to secure calm and wise legislation, and that such body does not necessarily undermine popular government, but he is merely stating the primal thought of the Filipino representatives.

Another phase of the legislature which is strange to Americans but not to Europeans was its supremacy over the other powers. In the first place the parliamentary or responsible system, as opposed to the presidential or nonresponsible type, was preferred. Then a permanent committee of the legislature was created.

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM.

The Malolos constitution worked out the European system, as follows: The legislature elected the president of the republic. The latter, as well as the representatives, initiated legislative measures. He could dissolve the legislature, with the consent, however, of the assembly or of the permanent committee, in pursuance of articles 36 and 70. The latter article was taken from article 5 of the French law of February 25, 1875, with this difference, that in France the Senate gives the necessary consent to the dissolution of the National Assembly. Just how the Malolos assembly could have been dissolved in case of its refusal to adjourn did not appear in the constitution. Mabini proposed to eliminate said consent, but the assembly rejected his idea. The secretaries of the government were "collectively responsible to the assembly for the general policy of the government and individually for their own personal acts," which provision was a literal copy of article 6 of the French law of February 25, 1875; they could speak in congress. The house could pass a vote of censure, and every member thereof had a right to address an interpellation to the government.

Let us see whether the cabinet or parliamentary system was better for the Filipinos than the presidential system. This is an intricate problem, but two statements may be ventured: (1) That the parliamentary system was more expedient, because it was the one known to the Filipinos; and (2) that a nonresponsible government, the capital drawback of which is, according to Mr. Bryce, its "want of unity," would not have responded to the stern exigencies of the period. The first Philippine Commission criticized the system adopted by the Filipinos, saying:

"They (the Filipinos) had never dreamed of the simple American plan of giving the chief executive large powers and of holding him strictly accountable for the use made of them, his cabinet being merely an advisory body, and they had not risen to the great and fruitful conception of the complete separation and mutual independence of the executive, judicial, and legislative departments of government. It will take time and require visible demonstration of the American method of a strong executive who shall be completely independent of the legislature."

The above opinion is, of course, based upon the assumption that the American arrangement is better than the European plan. This question is one of the most delicate problems of modern political science, and the commission's view, therefore, merely states one side of the controversy. Had the Philippine congress given Aguinaldo a strong hand, the advocates of the theory of our supposed incapacity would now undoubtedly make a weighty argument of this fact to show that the republic was a sham and that political absolutism was the all-absorbing principle.

THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE.

The permanent committee of the legislature was an institution adopted from Mexico, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Haiti, Guatemala, and Costa Rica, especially from the last two countries. It was to perform its duties during the recess of congress. Its powers were to decide whether impeachment proceedings could be instituted; to call a special session of the assembly, with the concurrence of the president; to dispatch pending business, so that the same could be discussed by congress; to call a special session of the legislature; and to take the place of the assembly in all its powers, except the making of laws.

NATURE OF A REPRESENTATIVE'S DUTY.

Another matter which deserves special attention in connection with the legislature is the duty of each member, as defined in the following provision:

"The members of the assembly shall represent the whole nation and not merely the electors choosing them. No representative shall receive any binding instruction from the electors."

This principle is seldom enunciated in constitutions. Yet it speaks the admirable foresight and broad statesmanship of the authors of the Philippine constitution. Universal experience vouches for the soundness of such doctrine. As President Wilson said:

"If the representative be a mere delegate, local interests must clash and contend in legislation to the destruction of all unity and consistency in policy; if however, the representative be not a mere

delegate, but a fully empowered member of the central government, coherence, consistency, and power may be given to all national movements of self-direction."

OTHER POWERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Little remains to be said regarding the legislative department. The constitution did not enumerate the general powers of the congress, as written constitutions generally do. The usual parliamentary privileges were guaranteed. The assembly determined the rules of its proceedings, judged the elections and qualifications of its members and approved their resignations, and elected its officers. It tried all impeachments. No representative could accept any pension, employment, or commission with emolument, except the secretaryships of the executive department or other offices enumerated by special laws. The representatives held office for four years.

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Titles 7 to 9, as above stated, treated of the executive department. The executive power was vested in a president of the republic, who exercised such power through his secretaries. In addition to what has already been said in connection with the cabinet government, the following provisions may be noticed: The president appointed to all civil and military positions, designated the secretaries, conducted diplomatic and commercial relations with other powers, looked after the prompt and full administration of justice, granted pardons, presided over state functions, and received envoys and ambassadors of foreign powers accredited to him. He needed the authority of a special law to alienate, cede, or exchange any part of Philippine territory; to incorporate any other territory with that of the Philippine Islands; to admit foreign troops into said territory; to ratify treaties of offensive and defensive alliance, special treaties of commerce, those stipulating the payment of subsidies to any foreign power, and all treaties which might have been binding upon Filipinos individually, provided that in no case could secret articles of a treaty annul public ones; to grant general amnesties and pardons and to coin money. He commanded the army and the navy, declared war and made and ratified peace, with the previous consent of the assembly. He promulgated the laws within 20 days; laws could be passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote. His election was for four years, and he could be reelected. He was responsible only in case of high treason. He had seven secretaries—for foreign affairs, of interior, finance, war and navy, public instruction, communications and public works, and agriculture, industry, and commerce. All his orders were to be signed by the proper secretary, without which requisite such orders were not to be obeyed.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

The judiciary was regulated by title 10. The chief justice and the attorney general were appointed by the national assembly in concurrence with the president and his secretaries. Every citizen had a right to institute criminal action against all members of the judiciary for crimes committed in the discharge of their duties. Although the constitution was silent on the subject, yet it is safe to presume that the courts did not have power to decide the constitutionality of laws, because the legislature was supreme, as already pointed out.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Title 11 declared the principles upon which provincial and municipal governments were based. Local autonomy was protected as long as the Provinces and municipalities did not override the limits of their powers.

FINANCE.

The budget and taxation were dealt with in title 12. The executive department was to prepare the budget every year. No payment could be made but in accordance with an appropriation or other special law in the form and under the responsibility determined by law, which provision appears to be better and more explicit and efficacious than Article 1, section 9, paragraph 7, United States Constitution, and section 5 of the Philippine bill; it is because Calderon was an economist, and he saw the importance of fixing the responsibility before law and public opinion for reckless management of the people's money. A special law was necessary for the disposal of property of the state and for the borrowing of money on the credit of the nation. The public debt was under the special protection of the nation. No debt was to be contracted unless the means with which to pay the same were approved at the same time, which shows that the men who organized the Philippine republic wanted to avoid the dangers to which some South American Republics are exposed when they fail to pay their debts to European nations.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Title 13 related to the amendment of the constitution by a constitutional convention; amendments were to be proposed by the assembly or the president. Lastly, there were some temporary provisions.

ESTIMATE OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC BY AMERICAN OBSERVERS.

Mr. Chairman, it is true that the government provided for by this constitution hardly came into existence; but that was due to the aggression of a strong foreign foe. Indeed, almost upon the very inauguration of the Philippine Republic the hostilities between the American and Filipino forces were begun, and therefore martial law was unavoidably proclaimed.

Short as was the life of this government, however, and struggling, as it had to, for its very existence, first with Spain and later with the United States, it lived long enough to show that if it had been permitted to grow and maintain its place among the independent nations of the world it would have contributed its due share to the advancement of mankind. It is worth while to recall once more what two officials of the United States Navy reported to Admiral Dewey with regard to that government. I therefore quote a part of that report:

It has been my privilege to have been intimately associated with the Filipino people for a short time at a most interesting period of their history. With the permission of Admiral Dewey I spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1898, in company with Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon. It will be remembered that at that date the United States had not yet announced its policy in regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime, the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction and had set up a provisional government, with Aguinaldo at its head. * * * Although this government has never been recognized and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it can not be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order. The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed further, while in the vast remaining districts the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that the state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy. * * * I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district. In this way we visited seven Provinces, of which some were under immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime.

PROGRESSIVE TENDENCIES OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC.

* Mr. Chairman, among the things done by this ephemeral government, most significant for the future because they clearly indicate the tendencies of the governmental forces at work and what they would have done for the Filipino people had they endured, are the establishment of free and compulsory public education and provision for the creation of a government university. Does history record another instance of a newborn government which, during the few months of its existence and

while it was still carrying on war, proceeded to take steps for the spread and promotion of public instruction among the masses?

Mr. Chairman, the world will yet acknowledge, when the passions of contemporary men have cooled off, that our short-lived Republic was, as the late Senator Hoar said, a testimonial to Filipino intelligence, justice, and patriotism.

* * * * *

AMERICAN RULE.

Let me now say a word about the achievements of the American Government in the Philippine Islands. While it is a fact that your work in the Philippines has not been as free from errors as the former officials of the Philippine Government in their self-laudation would have us believe, no just man on that account would underrate the value of your work as a whole, and, considering all the circumstances, it must be admitted that you have done marvels.

In 15 years of American occupation we have been given, though, of course, at our own cost, more and better schools, more solidly built roads, more sanitary and more beautiful cities, more railroads, and, in a word, we have in every way made very marked progress. The Filipino people, who are grateful and appreciative, gladly recognize this and give you therefor due credit.

FREEDOM VERSUS WEALTH AND EDUCATION.

But at the same time, with every deference and respect, they want me to say to you that all the schools in the world, combined with the most comfortable railroads, the most excellent sanitation, the most artistic buildings, and everything else that makes for enlightenment and comfort are no compensation for the loss of freedom. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I hope I may be permitted to be frank without being offensive. The American people have been too long beguiled by speeches telling of the wonderful material and educational progress that has been made under your guidance in the islands. Such assurances have been put forward within years past, not for the purpose of paying the American Government a just tribute, an object with which I am in accord, but with the pernicious and concealed interest to becloud the real issue involved in the Philippine problem and to leave the public mind at ease as to its moral aspect—the question of right and wrong—that is at stake. I repeat, and I mean every word, that intellectual advancement, public improvements, and material prosperity alone will not make the Filipinos happy and contented under your rule nor induce them to concede the necessity of that rule. If any man thinks that he can purchase the Filipino people with material prosperity and intellectual advancement, and so make them forget their rights as men and as a nation, he is utterly mistaken. All these beneficent things to meet our wishes must be accompanied by a definite promise that we may look forward to a future time when an absolutely independent government will be granted us, and must in the meantime be coupled with the immediate establishment of a government which shall afford us power to determine how the present development of the country shall be carried on. Ah, Mr. Chairman, if to our misfortune we must be forever destined to be ruled by a foreign power, better would it be to leave us in misery

and in ignorance! The demands of starving stomachs may prevent our souls from realizing the ignominy of slavery, while our ignorance would prevent us from knowing what freedom means, and, therefore, from desiring to attain it. Can not you, Mr. Chairman, sympathize with us? Ask the bird if it prefers a golden cage to the air and the sunshine; or ask Patrick Henry to explain his choice between liberty and life. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, it should be easy for you to understand how we feel. Forget for a moment that you are a citizen of the greatest and most powerful Commonwealth upon the face of this earth. Close your eyes to the present and, heeding the testimony of the past, go back to those days, fortunately for you long since gone, when instead of possessing a country extending from the Dominion of Canada to the Rio Grande and from the Atlantic to the Pacific you were confined to the region east of the Mississippi River, and when, instead of 100,000,000, you were but 3,000,000 souls. Remember how your forefathers felt when they were as we are now struggling for freedom. And, finally, bear in mind that the love for liberty in human hearts has not decreased, but, on the contrary, has grown as human civilization has advanced. Sir, you who at one time were under foreign rule and who were to be kept in that condition of subjection on the ground that you could do nothing for yourselves, that you were too ignorant to establish any suitable government, or too unpatriotic to be permitted to take care of your own country, you can sympathize with us. You can not blame us if our hearts bleed when we are told that the United States Government must forever remain in the Philippines because we are so incapable or so unpatriotic as not to be intrusted with our own affairs. So long as these words sound in Filipino ears we should not be men were we complaisantly and calmly to assent to permanent American control in the Philippines. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have been wandering long enough from the immediate issue, and I shall now discuss the most salient features of the bill.

TWO PRIME FEATURES OF THE BILL.

This bill is composed of a preamble and of legislative provisions. The preamble states the object of the bill, which is to give the people of the Philippine Islands ample opportunity to demonstrate to the world their capacity for self-government, so that, after such a demonstration shall have been made, they may be granted absolute and complete independence. The preamble recites that it was never the purpose of the American people to make the War with Spain an occasion for territorial aggrandizement or commercial expansion, and that it has always been the intent of the American people to recognize the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government shall have been established therein. The legislative provisions of the bill offer the Filipino people, as the preamble indicates, every opportunity to demonstrate their capacity for self-government by placing in their hands general legislative powers, with only such limitations as will enable the Government of the United States to prevent any possible misuse of those powers.

MAIN CHANGES IN THE PRESENT ORGANIC ACT.

Mr. Chairman, the substantial changes which the legislative provisions of this bill propose to make in the organic law of the Philippine Islands now in force are two in number, as follows: First, the increase of the powers now vested in the Philippine

Government; and, second, the substitution for the present system of government, mainly responsible to the President of the United States, of a government which shall be responsible to the Filipino people. The first change is brought about by conferring upon the Philippine Government general legislative powers and by specifically authorizing it to enact land, timber, mining, coinage, and tariff laws with the approval of the President of the United States. The second change is secured by providing that both branches of the legislature shall be elected by the Filipino people and that the appointment of Government officers shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate.

NECESSITY OF INCREASING THE POWERS OF THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

That the powers of the Philippine Government should be enlarged, as proposed in this bill, should be a foregone conclusion to every student of political science. It should be done as a matter of principle, because, if the Philippines are not to become an integral part of the American Nation, like the States of the Union, but, on the contrary, they are to be kept a distinct and separate nation, as they really are, their government should have now, even before it is declared an independent commonwealth, all the legislative powers that it needs to promote the growth of the country upon its own national lines.

From the standpoint of expediency the necessity of vesting the Philippine Government with these powers becomes acute. Indeed the whole experience of the world shows that legislative powers vested in a body thousands of miles away from the people and not responsible to them do more harm than good. This is because under these conditions such powers are seldom exercised, and when they are they are usually employed in the wrong way. The utter impossibility of arousing interest on the part of the legislature in the affairs of a people so far removed and the difficulties which prohibit such a legislature from supplying itself with the information to legislate wisely inevitably lead to this result.

But it is not enough, Mr. Chairman, that governmental powers be vested in some body that is on the ground; they must be granted to the Filipino people themselves, first, because self-government is the birthright of every people regardless how that right is exercised; and, second, because the Filipino people, as far as they have had the opportunity, have shown that they possess the capacity to govern themselves.

EVIDENCES OF FILIPINO CAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Chairman, the Filipino people have sufficiently demonstrated that they can safely be intrusted with the powers granted in this bill. I should be losing precious time were I to tell the committee that since the early days of the American régime both the municipalities and the Provinces have been successfully governed by Filipinos elected by the people. This is a fact admitted even by those most opposed to Filipino self-government. It is also unnecessary for me to say that the Filipinos occupying appointive positions in the insular government are fully justifying themselves, as is demonstrated by the fact that not only are they kept in office but that their number has been continuously increasing. Had these appointments been failures they would have been recalled and no further appointments of a like kind would have been made. Filipinos so appointed hold places on the supreme bench and in the courts of

record. Every justice of the peace, the secretary of finance and justice, five members of the Philippine Commission, the attorney general, the solicitor general, the provincial fiscals (prosecuting attorneys), some chiefs and assistant chiefs of bureaus, and the majority of the civil-service employees are Filipinos.

As to the legislative capacity of the Filipinos, the work of the Philippine Assembly since 1907 and the achievements of the Philippine Legislature when, through the appointment of a majority of Filipinos on the commission, it had become practically a Filipino body, furnish conclusive testimony to the intelligence, culture, and devotion to duty of our Filipino legislators. It will not be amiss, Mr. Chairman, to cite to the committee the testimony of Americans prominent in the councils of each of the three political parties in the United States on this subject.

Ex-President Taft, who is considered by many as one of the Americans best informed on things Philippine, said in his special report on the Philippines as Secretary of War:

The Philippine Assembly has shown a most earnest desire, and its leaders have expressed with the utmost emphasis their intention to labor for the material prosperity of the Philippines. * * * In other words, thus far the assembly has not manifested in any way that obstructive character which those who have prophesied its failure expected to see.

This testimony is supported by ex-President Roosevelt, who in a message to Congress used the following language:

THE PHILIPPINES.

Real progress toward self-government is being made in the Philippine Islands. The gathering of a Philippine legislative body and Philippine Assembly marks a process absolutely new in Asia, not only as regards Asiatic colonies of European powers but as regards Asiatic possessions of other Asiatic powers; and, indeed, always excepting the striking and wonderful example afforded by the great Empire of Japan, it opens an entirely new departure when compared with anything which has happened among Asiatic powers which are their own masters. Hitherto this Philippine Legislature has acted with moderation and self-restraint, and has seemed in practical fashion to realize the eternal truth that there must always be government, and that the only way in which any body of individuals can escape the necessity of being governed by outsiders is to show that they are able to restrain themselves, to keep down wrongdoing and disorder. The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government.

An American scholar resident in the Philippines, Dr. Robertson, who has been carefully studying the conduct of the Philippine Assembly, wrote of this body as follows:

When one considers the lack of opportunity that the Filipinos have had for representative government, this extraordinary session marks an epoch in the history of the Philippine Islands. This remark is no idle panegyric, but is based on actual contact and conversation with various members of the assembly, as well as attendance at many of the open meetings of the assembly. * * *

The assembly just closed was remarkable in several respects: for the discipline exercised by the speaker; for the great earnestness displayed by the representatives in general; for their dignity of bearing; and for their freedom from jingoism; and, outwardly at least, from party passion—outwardly, I say, because considerable party passion and personal feeling did at times creep into committee and secret meetings. In general, it may be said that this assembly in its quietness and dignity of action has established a precedent that can well be taken as a form for future sessions. * * *

While it might be said that this special session was called upon to consider but a limited range of subjects, and can not, therefore, be taken as a typical session, where there is more at stake, yet an examination of the various bills introduced and discussed shows a considerable range of interests, and those interests among the most vital in the Philippines. That they were treated in so earnest and dignified a manner must score a point in favor of the working of the assembly. On the

whole, there was an absence of bombast and fireworks that was refreshing. * * *

Most of the delegates were exceedingly in earnest and worked up to the measure of their ability. * * * Conversations with various of the delegates showed them to be, on the whole, men of relative superior intelligence, alert, and anxious for the best good of the Philippines. This last is a very significant fact. The delegates, although elected to represent a certain locality, are keenly alive to the fact that they represent all the Philippines and must obtain the best good for the whole country. * * * If the leaders proceed with the wisdom that Rizal would have had, it is not too much to say that the Filipino Assembly will have permanently an honored place among the deliberative assemblies of the world.

These observations as to the results attained by the establishment of a popularly elected branch of our legislature are corroborated by the opinion rendered by the present Governor General of the Philippines on the work of the Philippine Legislature during a year where both of its branches, controlled by Filipinos, assumed under most trying circumstances the legislative powers of the Philippine Government. Mr. Harrison, in his annual message to the Philippine Legislature, on February 6, 1914, said:

Gentlemen of the legislature, nearly four months ago I addressed you for the first time. I came to you then with high expectations of your legislative ability. Those expectations have now been justified. During the regular session which has just elapsed your labors for the public welfare have been earnest, industrious, and efficient. Your course has been one of progress and economy of the public moneys. Many laws of great importance have been enacted. Among these is the general appropriation act for the current expenditures of the Government, the first to become law since 1910. This act effected many reforms in the fabric of this government and has met with widespread approval. Peace and prosperity throughout the islands and tranquillity of the public mind bear evidence of this approval. The President of the United States has expressed his appreciation, and the Secretary of War has sent the following message:

"I congratulate you on the passage for the first time in three years of a general appropriation bill, and on the fact that the bill was passed unanimously by both houses. I have no doubt but that there were, as to a great many features, differences of opinion, but it is a source of satisfaction to the department that such differences were satisfactorily adjusted. Please extend to both houses of the Philippine Legislature my congratulations on this event, and express to them my hope that this is but an indication of what may be expected in the future."

The general appropriation act, in many ways, increases the efficiency of the Government service, and will result in a saving of over ₱2,000,000 in our current expenses. We must now guard jealously the economies already effected and proceed to consider further reforms and retrenchment of unnecessary expenditures. By these methods we shall entirely avert the deficit in the general unappropriated funds of the treasury which faced us at the opening of the October session. And, further, we may also enact now a law appropriating funds for the public works and continue in every respect the previous admirable progress in the construction of roads, bridges, and artesian wells. For the framing of such an appropriation bill, as well as for a proper deliberation and careful scrutiny of many other measures of public moment, I have called this special session of the legislature to sit from to-day until the 28th of February, 1914. During the course of your proceedings I shall make to you certain recommendations for your consideration.

The art of government is, in many respects, the highest of the sciences. You have already demonstrated the ability of a legislature composed almost entirely of Filipinos to enact difficult and progressive legislation. In the days to come you will maintain the high standard you have already raised. Many eyes are upon you; many minds are fixed upon your every act. The time is one of utmost importance to the ultimate achievement of Filipino aspirations. The people of the United States are your friends. All of them, I am sure, wish earnestly for a continuation of the successful outcome of your labors.

A more detailed account of the work of this "Filipinized" legislature is given in the following letter written by the Manila

correspondent of one of the metropolitan newspapers of this country:

MANILA, July 25.

Nearly 10 months have elapsed since October 6, 1913, when the new Governor General of the Philippines, Francis Burton Harrison, of New York, landed in Manila, and half an hour later delivered his now famous "Luneta address," announcing the intention of President Wilson to give the Filipinos a majority on the Philippine Commission. The announcement was hailed with joy by the Filipinos, by the majority of Americans and foreigners in the islands with misgivings and forebodings of political disaster.

As to the success of the experiment, opinions vary. In general, however, it may be stated that adverse criticism of the "Filipinized" legislature has largely subsided, if not entirely ceased.

How far has the faith of the present administration at Washington in the ability of the Filipinos to assume complete control of the legislative branch of the government been justified? What effect upon general sociological, political, and business conditions has the new order of things produced? Would the United States be justified in extending still further political autonomy to the Filipinos? This letter will be confined to a recital of facts and figures bearing on the accomplishments of the last session of the Philippine Legislature, the first in which both branches were under Filipino control.

THE "FILIPINIZED" GOVERNMENT.

The assembly, or lower branch of the Philippine Legislature, has, since its establishment in 1907, been composed exclusively of Filipinos elected by popular vote. The Philippine Commission is appointed by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate. Formerly it was composed of five Americans and four Filipinos, the Governor General being president of the body. By the appointment of four new Filipino commissioners and the reappointment of Commissioner Palma the Filipinos obtained last October a majority of one.

The three new American commissioners, who, with the Governor General, compose the racial minority, were also appointed in October, but did not reach the islands until the regular session of the legislature was practically over; so that whatever credit or discredit might attach to the last session of the Philippine Legislature must be placed on the shoulders of the Filipino commissioners, the Philippine Assembly, and, to a certain extent, upon those of the Governor General.

While it is true that the Governor General, because of the authority of the Washington Government behind him, and because of the powers and prerogatives vested in him by the organic act of 1903, can wield a vast influence upon the shaping of legislation, particularly in the upper house, yet, in fact, the chief executive did not avail himself of nearly the full influence inherent in his position.

Mr. Harrison desired to test the actual capacity of his Filipino confrères; therefore he effaced himself almost completely from the routine work of legislation. Of the bills introduced, but a negligible percentage were introduced by the Governor General, by far the major portion being framed and presented by the Filipino commissioners, who had been designated individual committees to deal with the various special phases of the legislative business.

WORK OF THE FILIPINO COMMISSIONERS.

Commissioner Mapa, the only Filipino commissioner having departmental supervision, or a portfolio, as they call it here, handled all bills pertaining to his own department, that of finance and justice; Commissioner De Veyra prepared bills having to do with the department of commerce and police; Commissioner Singson took care of the department of the interior legislation, with the exception of matters concerning the Moro Province, which were largely attended to by Commissioner Ilustre, who is a native of that Province. Commissioner Palma was intrusted with matters pertaining to the department of public instruction, and presided in the absence of the Governor General.

During practically the entire regular session the American commissioners intrusted with the three last-named portfolios, were absent, and the Filipino commissioners, in addition to their legislative duties, took care of the administrative work of these departments, which embrace in their jurisdiction the entire executive branch of the government.

The Governor General took but small part in the detail work of legislation in the commission. As a matter of fact, he absented himself time and again from the sessions of that body. On not a single occasion did he make use of his veto power to coerce or impede legislation. His congressional experience served him in good stead in parliamentary procedure, and he conducted the proceedings of the commission with system and dispatch.

It should be remembered, however, that in his "Luneta speech" and in his first message to the legislature he had previously outlined the policies of the administration with respect to finances, the civil service, "big business," and the relations of the governing to the governed. He had laid down a sweeping economy program, calculated to correct the alleged extravagances of the previous administration; he had declared the administration's intention more rapidly to substitute Filipinos for Americans in the civil service; he had announced that "business is intended to serve the government, not the government to serve business"; and he had assured and convinced the members of the legislature that the administration intended to give the Filipinos a fair test of their fitness for self-government.

The commission, as well as the assembly, adhered closely to the lines laid out for them in the Governor General's message. This was not due, as might be inferred, to servile compliance on their part with the will of the chief executive, but rather to their sympathy with the general principles and policies enunciated by Mr. Harrison. The fact that the Filipinos can not be led like sheep by the Governor General was evidenced in the discord and practical stoppage of constructive legislation that prevailed during the previous régime dominated by Mr. Forbes.

During the session just past, for the first time in the history of Philippine bicameral legislation under the American régime, there existed perfect accord in aims and principles between the Governor General and the two houses of the legislature. The two houses worked in harmony, and in but one instance—concerning the passage of a dental-practice regulation bill—did they fail to come to an agreement. There had been more or less constant friction between the assembly and the commission. The assembly always has stood for greater economy in governmental expenditures, more rapid "Filipinization" of the civil service, and greater consideration for the rights, aspirations, and customs of the people.

The commission in the past seemed to take the attitude that the Filipinos were unable to assure safe and sane forms of conduct with respect to nearly all matters arising for settlement by legislative action. The labors of the assembly were depreciated and ridiculed by the mass of Americans and foreigners over here, as well as by the local American press.

In 1910 the two houses came to a deadlock over the general appropriation bill, the most important measure arising in the legislature, and the Governor General was forced to resort to the expedient, prescribed by law, of continuing the last jointly approved appropriation bill for another year by executive order, although the measure was considered by the lower house extravagant and unfair to the people.

INFLUENCE OF A NEW SPIRIT.

The "new era" heartened and quickened the legislative machinery. More bills were passed than at any previous session. A much greater percentage of bills originating and passing in the commission was approved by the lower house than ever before, and a surprisingly large number of excellent bills of prime importance to the islands and in line with the best and most progressive modern thought were enacted into law. An appropriation bill was passed which bids fair to turn the threatened deficit in the insular treasury into a sizable surplus, and an entirely new system of apportioning and appropriating Government funds for the different bureaus was evolved and provided for.

The following comparative table will make clear the quantitative results of the last session as compared with that of previous sessions:

	Sessions.			
	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14
Bills introduced in commission.....	63	69	71	103
Bills passed by commission.....	48	52	61	69
Commission bills enacted by legislature...	17	17	18	50
Bills introduced in assembly.....	484	518	421	398
Bills passed by assembly.....	93	181	131	169
Assembly bills enacted by legislature....	33	69	51	51
Percentage of commission bills enacted by legislature.....	35	25	10	72
Percentage of assembly bills enacted by legislature.....	24	38	39	30
Percentage of bills passed by either house enacted by legislature.....	34	37	36	42

It will be seen that whereas the percentage of bills passed by the assembly and enacted by the legislature fell from 39 last year to 30 for this year's session, the percentage of commission bills passed by the legislature rose from 30 to 72.

The decrease in the number of assembly bills enacted was largely due to the fact that the extraordinary labors involved in the framing in the general appropriation bill resulted in the holding over of a great many bills in the lower house without action. Moreover, due to the renaissance of the national spirit, there was more activity in the lower house in the matter of framing bills and more initiative in the presentation of measures. Then, the commission was very cautious in its consideration of bills arising in the lower house, and brought its superior wisdom and experience to bear on measures arising there. It thus performed its intended function as a check upon the more youthful and exuberant spirits of the assembly.

CONFIDENCE IN THE COMMISSION.

On the other hand, the unbounded confidence of the assembly in the commission, a new condition in Philippine legislation, is demonstrated by the fact that 72 per cent of bills passed in the upper house were approved by the lower chamber. Compare this figure with the 30, 25, and 35 of the three previous years.

During the last session 101 bills were enacted into law. For the three previous years the figures are 69, 86, and 50.

In the session of 1910-11, outside of a "negotiable instruments" act, a bill for the reorganization of the justice of the peace courts, and a bill granting a gas franchise for the city of Manila, no important measures were enacted. In the following session the most important laws passed were an act permitting the utilization of the "gold standard and reserve" fund for public-works loans to Provinces and municipalities; a warehouse-receipt act, governing the use of this class of business documents; an automobile law, fixing speed limits, etc.; and an act providing for systematic government inspection of the municipal police forces in the islands. This latter law was never enforced for lack of appropriation. During the session of 1912-13 the only important laws enacted were a bill providing for the registration of patents, a law regulating the practice of veterinary medicine, and a bill appropriating funds for a portion of the cadastral survey of the islands.

QUALITATIVE VIEW OF LAST SESSION.

The list of important bills for the 1913-14 session is as follows:

(1) General appropriation bill: This measure was the principal source of the present administration's unpopularity among the Americans in the islands. It did away with reimbursable appropriations. It reduced all salaries above \$3,000 from 5 to 10 per cent. It provided for a reduction of the American force in most bureaus and the placing of Filipinos in more responsible positions. It did away with unnecessary expenditures and gave the bureau chiefs less leeway in handling public funds. It eliminated some positions entirely, and even eliminated an entire bureau, which had been a drag upon the Government's finances in the previous administration. It consolidated other bureaus into more efficient and economical organizations. It was a bill intended to accomplish the principal object of the government's financial policy—economy. The bill was framed by the assembly, amended, and redrafted by the commission, and accepted by the assembly, after conference, with but few changes.

When it was made public a terrible howl went up from the unfortunate Americans who were deprived of positions or suffered reduction in salary. Many resigned. The bill was derided and pointed to as a horrible instance of the incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government. As a matter of fact, it was a creditable piece of legislative work—one that few legislatures in the world could have accomplished with equal thoroughness and dispatch. As a result of this bill government expenditures for the first four months of the present fiscal year showed a saving of approximately \$1,000,000 as compared with last year, and no one has noticed any appreciable slackening up in the functioning of the government machinery. Had this bill not been passed salaries and bureau expenditures would have eaten up all the government's revenues, not leaving a centavo for public works.

ANTISLAVERY BILL PASSED.

(2) An antislavery bill, which Worcester claimed could not be passed in the assembly.

(3) A judiciary bill, entirely reorganizing the higher judiciary system in the islands.

(4) An internal-revenue act, totally revising the old internal-revenue act. Great opposition arose to this bill because it provided for a small tax on the output of gold mines. This provision was finally eliminated, but will be passed in the next session.

(5) A bill abolishing the bureau of navigation: This bureau operated a fleet of vessels for which there was no real use except to serve as junketing ships for the higher officials. It ran a marine repair shop on an extravagant basis and supported several superfluous and mostly incompetent high-salaried officials. It was apportioned between the bureau of customs and the bureau of public works. Much wailing arose over the passage of this measure.

(6) A bill establishing a board of public utilities commissioners, patterned after the New Jersey public utilities law. Indignation in railroad and corporation circles.

(7) A bill limiting the sale of friar lands to individuals to 16 hectares and the sale to corporations to 1,024 hectares. One hectare is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

(8) A law standardizing the hemp product of the island: In the past different concerns had different brands and different classifications and marks. This resulted in much inconvenience and dissatisfaction to the importers abroad. This bill was denounced by the hemp brokers as unfair, but the manufacturers abroad approved it and welcomed it. The dealers and growers will greatly benefit by it as well.

(9) An antiopium bill, increasing the severity of sentences for the use and importation of opium.

(10) A patent-medicine bill providing for the labeling and advertising of patent medicines and so-called therapeutic appliances, and providing adequate punishment for infractors.

(11) A wireless telegraph bill, granting a franchise to the Marconi Wireless Co. for the establishment of a station.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that I have given the committee enough evidence regarding the capacity of the Filipino people to legislate for themselves. I might well stop here, since no further proof is needed. There is, however, one more witness whom I can not omit, for I feel that as he is himself a great legislator the committee should not be deprived of his views on this subject.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] during his rather hasty trip to the islands last year paid a visit to the Philippine Assembly. The assembly received the gentleman with all the honors becoming a Member of the Congress of the United States. Speaker Osmeña greeted the distinguished visitor with warm words of welcome and asked him to convey to the Congress the respect and regard of the people of the Philippine Islands. The gentleman from Minnesota, after graciously returning the greetings of the speaker, said something in praise of the work done by the assembly. It had been my fortune and honor to act as a translator for the gentleman on that occasion, a difficult task, indeed, for his speech was, as usual, very eloquent. It was almost impossible for me to find the corresponding words in Spanish, and I am not even sure that I quite understood what he said. If I did not, then I unintentionally and regretfully misrepresented him to the assembly. The gentleman can tell me now whether I have or have not misrepresented him. I shall not undertake to repeat his own eloquent words, but what in effect I understood him to say is that the assembly had done well and had shown its capacity to legislate.

Mr. MILLER. Has the gentleman finished the quotation?

Mr. QUEZON. That is not all that the gentleman said, but for my purpose that is all I care to cite now.

Mr. MILLER. It was so long?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. I want to say that the gentleman's translation at the time was perfect, as I gathered from my knowledge of the Spanish, and that his statement to-day is perfect, with one slight exception.

Mr. QUEZON. What is that?

Mr. MILLER. The gentleman said I told the Philippine Assembly it had done splendidly. I told them they had done splendidly and they had done nobly——

Mr. QUEZON. That is true.

Mr. MILLER. And that they had demonstrated their capacity as legislators, and that I was in favor of permitting them to elect a senate. So I indorse all that the gentleman said and make it stronger.

Mr. QUEZON. I am glad to learn that I succeeded in understanding and translating the speech of my distinguished friend. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, there is just one more thing I wish to say regarding the assembly, in connection with a statement made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Fess]. The gentleman suggested that because out of the 56 members of the constitutional convention held in 1787, 29 were college bred, this fact indicated conclusively the grade of literacy and political capacity in the American colonies.

What would the gentleman from Ohio say, Mr. Chairman, if I told him what is true, that the members of the Philippine Assembly are 81, and that the proportion of college bred among them is 100 per cent, for every one of them is college bred? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now take up the matter of the confirmation by the Senate of the Governor General's appointments. This is one of the most important features of the bill, and it ought not to require much argument to convince the committee of its wisdom. You have this provision in your Federal Constitution, because your fathers knew the dangers of giving too much power to the Executive. If an elective President can not be trusted with unlimited discretion in the appointment of the administrative officials of the Government, how could anyone believe that an appointive Governor General could be safely intrusted with such a discretion? Were the Governor General of the Philippines to make his appointments without being subject to confirmation by another branch of the government, he could easily equal the Czar of Russia in so far as absolute power is concerned, for it must be remembered that the veto power vested by this bill in the Governor General is, to all practical intents, unlimited. The Governor General of the Philippines will, under the terms of this bill, appoint the members of his cabinet or the heads of the executive departments; he would further appoint all those officials now appointed by him, or, in other words, every judge of the courts of first instance, every justice of the peace, every provincial fiscal (prosecuting attorney), every chief and assistant chief of bureau, every provincial treasurer; in fine, every officer of the judiciary, excepting the members of the supreme court, and the most important positions of the executive branch of the Philippine Government. Can anyone fail to see what a tremendous power this lodges in the hands of a single man? How dangerous a weapon for an unscrupulous or incompetent Governor General! It might be harmless, nay, beneficial, in the case of a patriotic Governor General like Francis Burton Harrison, but there are not many of Mr. Harrison's type, even in the United States, and it is enough that there be a possibility of an unworthy Governor General to justify the adoption of legislative measures that will

prevent him from doing his worst. Restrictive laws are written for the wicked, and they are essential to the protection of society as long as humanity has the weakness of the flesh.

NEW GRANT OF FRANCHISE.

Mr. Chairman, I have touched upon the most important changes in our present organic law as contemplated in the bill. There are only two more innovations which deserve comment at this time.

The qualifications of voters now required by law in the Philippines are as follows:

SEC. 13. Qualifications of voters: Every male person 23 years of age or over who has had a legal residence for a period of six months immediately preceding the election in the municipality in which he exercises the suffrage, and who is not a citizen or subject of any foreign power, and who is comprised within one of the following three classes:

(a) Those who, prior to the 13th of August, 1898, held the office of municipal captain, gobernadorcillo, alcalde, lieutenant, cabeza de barangay, or member of any ayuntamiento.

(b) Those who own real property to the value of ₱500, or who annually pay ₱30 or more of the established taxes.

(c) Those who speak, read, and write English or Spanish shall be entitled to vote at all elections: *Provided*, That officers, soldiers, sailors, or marines of the Army or Navy of the United States shall not be considered as having acquired legal residence within the meaning of this section by reason of their having been stationed in the municipalities for the required six months.

The bill reenacts these provisions, but it adds that those who can read and write in any language may also vote. Such an innovation is wise and right. There are many literate Filipinos educated in the use of their own language who, because they could neither write Spanish or English, are disqualified to vote under the present law. It is unjustifiable to deprive of the franchise those Filipinos who can inform themselves of the rights and duties of citizenship through native literature. The proposed innovation would at once increase the number of the Philippine electorate and would put a stop to the assertions of the past few years that the paucity of electors in the islands in proportion to the rest of the population furnishes evidence of the incapacity of Filipinos for self-government.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NONCHRISTIAN "TRIBES."

Mr. Chairman, there is one provision in the bill which I must admit I swallowed only after much effort and which I have not fully as yet digested. I refer to the proposed plan for governing the non-Christian native inhabitants of the Philippines. There are about 600,000 of these non-Christians in the total 8,000,000 population of the islands. About one-half of them are pagans and the other half Mohammedans. The immense majority, while uncivilized in the sense that they have not accepted occidental civilization, are not, however, savages. They live in villages and towns; they have their own homes and farms; and they follow regular pursuits of life. They live under well-organized municipal and provincial governments, and they pay their local taxes. A few of the pagans are nomads, and a few others up to a few years ago were head hunters.

We have all heard the ridiculous assertions that there is a lack of sympathy between the Christian and the non-Christian Filipinos, and that the former can not be trusted to govern the latter. As for placing the Mohammedans, or so-called Moros, under the control of a Filipino government, we are warned of the horrors that would follow such attempt. Of

course there is no more ground for such statements than there is for the charges regarding the incapacity of the Christian Filipinos to govern themselves. Both aspersions are due to the same cause—the determination of certain persons to keep in their own hands the tempting job of ruling both non-Christian and Christian Filipinos.

The majority members of the insular committee had, as I understand it, to face the fact that so much has been said about this supposed antagonism between the Christians and the non-Christians that they had to make some concession to those who in good faith fear that too radical a change in the present government of these non-Christians might result in disaster. With a rather conservative step it was hoped to silence in part the pessimistic prophets. As regards the increase of the powers of the Christian Filipinos to govern themselves, while opposition was to be expected, the old battle cry of Filipino incapacity could be answered effectively with the mere recitation of proofs to the contrary already afforded by the Filipinos. But such an answer could not be made were it proposed to turn the non-Christians completely over to their Christian brothers, because the Christian Filipinos have had no opportunity thus far to govern those wards of the Nation. For this reason some sort of compromise measure was adopted.

According to the organic law, the government of the non-Christians is exclusively vested in the appointive Philippine Commission, thus allowing the Filipino people no participation whatever in the process of government. The commission could appropriate from funds in the treasury raised by taxing the Christian Filipinos any sum it chose to spend for the benefit of the non-Christians without consulting the assembly, and even in the face of its protests. This power has been abused in the past. The bill proposes that the government of these non-Christians shall be vested in the Philippine Legislature provided for in the act, but that they shall be represented in the legislature by 2 senators and 10 representatives appointed by the Governor General.

It is evident that this new proposal is better and less undemocratic than the present system, and I therefore accept it as a lesser and only a temporary evil—temporary because the bill provides that when the newly created legislature shall have convened it may revise this undemocratic arrangement.

PRACTICAL TEST OF FILIPINO CAPACITY OFFERED BY THE BILL.

Mr. Chairman, there is one point that the promoters of the bill can make, after all is said on both sides of the question, that must effectively destroy all argument against the granting of these new powers to the Filipino people. That point is this: The great merit of the bill, that which constitutes its most apparent justification, is that it offers the only practical means whereby the capacity of the Filipino people for self-government can be tested. If the Filipinos justify themselves, as I know they will, then this issue is ended; if they fail, as I know they will not, then the Congress may return to the present system of absolute American control. The bill is framed with so much regard for the interests of the United States, as well as for that of the Filipinos themselves, that while it permits the Philippine Legislature to initiate and pass all sorts of legislation, it reserves to the Governor General a qualified and to the President

an absolute veto power, besides the constitutional right of Congress to annul any of such laws after they have been enacted. In this way the Filipino people can do nothing that will jeopardize the interests of the American people or seriously affect their own should the experiment result in a failure.

THE PREAMBLE.

Mr. Chairman, we have been told, both by the ranking member of the minority on the Committee on Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER], and his colleague on the committee [Mr. MILLER], that were it not for this preamble, which, they say, makes the bill a partisan measure, there would have been some possible agreement, at least between the minority and the majority members of the Committee on Insular Affairs, as to most of the legislative provisions of the bill.

Mr. Chairman, the spokesmen for the minority members of the Insular Committee have complained of the attitude taken by the majority members of that committee in framing the bill. I submit in all earnestness, Mr. Chairman, that whatever may have been the attitude taken by the Democrats in dealing with the Republicans in the committee room, that should not affect the opinion of the Republicans as to the intrinsic merits of the measure. It may be true that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES] and the other majority members on the committee have shown a partisan spirit in the discussion of the bill in the committee; I do not know. It may be true—and, indeed, there can be no dispute about it—that this is a Democratic measure in the sense that it was introduced by a Democratic Member, reported favorably by a Democratic committee of the House, and indorsed by a Democratic administration. It may be true, as I can see it clearly, that the preamble is practically a copy of the Philippine plank of the Democratic platform, and that, therefore, the bill is a redemption of a Democratic campaign pledge. But this does not make it a partisan or a political measure, as the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] put it, nor should it, for that matter, be opposed by any Republican Member of this House.

Mr. Chairman, this preamble is not a partisan declaration; it is not an expression of a partisan policy. It is the congressional confirmation of all the declarations made by the Chief Executives of the Government of the United States to the world and to the Filipino people from the beginning of the Spanish-American War up to this day regarding the national policy of the American people toward the inhabitants of the islands.

Has anyone forgotten those memorable words of the late President McKinley, that—

Forceful annexation, according to the American code of morals, is criminal aggression.

More recent and more to the point are the declarations made by ex-President Roosevelt and ex-President Taft.

Mr. Taft, in his special report as Secretary of War to the President of the United States in 1907, said:

There are in the Philippines many who wish that the Government shall declare a definite policy in respect to the islands so that they may know what that policy is. I do not see how any more definite policy can be declared than was declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Com-

mission, which was incorporated into law by the organic act of the Philippine Government, adopted July 1, 1902. That policy is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility. * * * It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands.

Ex-President Roosevelt, in his annual message to the Congress in 1908, declared:

I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation.

* * * * *

I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Philippines can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent, or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power, able to guarantee to the islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion.

After such authoritative statements from men who are the accredited spokesmen of your respective parties and at that time were leaders of the Nation as well, can you now, gentlemen of the Republican and Progressive side of the House, turn around and repudiate those declarations by voting against this preamble simply because its language, though substantially the same as your own spokesmen's declarations, is literally copied from the Baltimore platform?

To the Democratic side of the House I have but very little to say in connection with the preamble. You know that the preamble is practically a recital of what has been the Philippine plank of your platform ever since the Philippines came under the Government of the United States, and without frank and open disregard of that pledge you can not vote against that preamble. Moreover, the titular leader of your party has already informed the Filipino people, not only on behalf of his Democratic administration but in the name of the American Nation, that the policy of this Government toward the islands is what this preamble states it to be. And this message of President Wilson has been delivered to the Filipinos by Gov. Gen. Harrison, the present representative of the United States, on the solemn occasion of his arrival in the Philippines, in the following address:

Citizens of the Philippine Islands, the President of the United States has charged me to deliver to you the following message on behalf of the Government of our country:

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands.

"Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next.

"The administration will take one step at once and will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the appointive commission, and thus in the upper as well as in the lower house of the legislature a majority representation will be secured to them.

"We do this in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will be given in the action of the commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens who have already come forward to represent and to lead their people in affairs."

This is the message I bear to you from the President of the United States. With his sentiments and with his policy I am in complete accord. Within the scope of my office as Governor General I shall do my utmost to aid in the fulfillment of our promises, confident that we shall thereby hasten the coming of the day of your independence. For my own part I should not have accepted the responsibility of this great

office merely for the honor and the power which it confers. My only motive in coming to you is to serve as well as in me lies the people of the Philippine Islands. It is my greatest hope that I may become an instrument in the further spread of democratic government.

To every Democrat government rests only upon the consent of the governed. And we do not maintain that self-government is the peculiar property of our nation or that democratic institutions are the exclusive privileges of our race. On the other hand, we do not believe that we can endow you with the capacity for self-government. That you must have acquired for yourselves. The opportunity of demonstrating it lies before you now in an ever-widening field.

As for ourselves, we confidently expect of you that dignity of bearing and that self-restraint which are the outward evidences of daily increasing national consciousness. In promising you on behalf of the administration immediate control of both branches of your legislature, I remind you, however, that for the present we are responsible to the world for your welfare and your progress. Until your independence is complete we shall demand of you unremitting recognition of our sovereignty.

You are now on trial before an international tribunal that is as wide as the world. We who appear before this august court in the light of your advocates are proud of the privilege that has fallen to us, and we do not shun the responsibilities of our rôle, which is without a parallel in history. We shall eagerly await convincing proof that you are capable of establishing a stable government of your own. Such a government may not necessarily denote an entire reproduction of our own institutions, but one which guarantees to its citizens complete security of life, of liberty, and of property. We now invite you to share with us responsibility for such a government here. Every Filipino may best serve his country who serves us in this endeavor, and to that end I call upon every good citizen of these islands, and all who dwell therein, whether of native or foreign birth, for assistance and support.

People of the Philippine Islands, a new era is dawning. We place within your reach the instruments of your redemption. The door of opportunity stands open and under Divine Providence the event is in your own hands.

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, that message of President Wilson and the words of Gov. Harrison, with which he delivered to us that message, as well as every prior similar declaration made by former Presidents and Governors General have been received by the Filipino people as the solemn promise of the American people to grant independence to the Philippines. To us there are no Democratic Presidents or Democratic Governors General, no Republican Presidents or Republican Governors General. There are to us but American Presidents and American Governors General, and what they say and do we receive as words and actions of their Nation itself. What a terrible disappointment it would be to the Filipino people if the Congress were now to repudiate those declarations by the defeat of the preamble! And how such a repudiation would shake the faith of the Filipino people in this Nation!

Mr. Chairman, some say that this preamble is worthless because it is not actually a part of the bill, and is therefore without force. If so, then there should not be much opposition to it, for if left in the bill it can do no harm. As for myself I value this preamble for its full worth. It is the one feature of the bill that will permit the Filipino people, even while you still retain your sovereignty over the islands, to feel that they can lift their heads so long bowed in hopeless subjection. It is the one feature of the bill that will permit the Filipino people to look to the days of the morrow with joyous hearts, full of hope and expectation. It is the one feature of the bill that will permit the Filipino people to look at your flag, even while it floats

over our public buildings and edifices, as the ensign not of physical force exercised for the permanent domination of a weak people, but as the symbol of the generous purpose of a great country to help a smaller nation that strives to be free to attain its goal, to stand some day soon upon its own feet and move forward thereafter unaided and uncontrolled. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, the eyes of the Filipino people are now upon the Congress, and at this particular time upon this House. They live breathless with the horrible suspense caused by the doubt as to what you will do with this bill. On this occasion, momentous as it is to the destinies of that people, they appeal to you not as Democrats, Republicans, or Progressives, but as Americans representing the people that of their own accord have proclaimed themselves as the champions of human freedom. Would you fail them, you who have sacrificed so much in life and in treasure on the altar of this sacred cause? Would you fail them, you whose example, whose influence, whose sympathy have in the past inspired other subject nations and have helped them to attain their freedom? Would you fail them, you who have gone to war in order to liberate Cuba? Would you fail them, you who have encouraged them to overthrow the sovereignty of Spain and accepted their assistance in the Spanish-American War? Would you fail them, after so many of your implied as well as expressed promises of rapid extension to them of self-government and ultimate independence?

Mr. Chairman, the Filipino people have resorted to every means to secure their freedom, and what they have done shows that they deserve to be free. They have shown to the world that they are a people conscious of and longing to secure their national rights. Scores of thousands of their sons have laid down their lives and millions upon millions of their wealth have been destroyed for the sake of that one most precious boon granted to humanity by God Almighty. Failing in this struggle because of their lack of sufficient physical strength, they have tilled the soil, they have searched the mysteries of science, they have learned to appreciate the beauties of art, they have familiarized themselves and complied with their duties as citizens, hoping against hope that what they could not win in battle they might gain through their industry, their culture, and their enlightened and patriotic citizenship.

The Filipino people, Mr. Chairman, beg you to pass this bill. Indeed, they contend that they have given enough proofs of their capacity for self-government to warrant a complete delivery to them of unrestricted powers of government. But since it is said that this bill is all you are now disposed to consider and in view of the fact that they have absolute confidence in the American people, they are willing to accept this bill as the first serious and earnest step toward their political emancipation.

SHALL GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE
PERISH FROM THE EARTH?

Mr. Chairman, sixscore and eighteen years ago your forefathers "brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

It was once questioned whether this proposition was applicable to all men residing within the confines of that Nation, regardless

of their color or their race. The world, which has doubted, "whether that Nation, or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated," could "long endure," watched with eager eyes the outcome of this issue. Your fathers "gave their lives that that Nation might live." "From these honored dead" the survivors took "increased devotion to that course for which" their noble comrades "gave the last full measure of devotion." They highly resolved "that these dead shall not have died in vain; that that Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Mr. Chairman, twoscore and eleven years have gone by since this sacred resolve was sworn to. To-day the doctrine of the government of the people, by the people, for the people is challenged. Shall you renew that resolve, or shall you demonstrate that those dead have died in vain? [Loud applause.]

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1914.

A Word on General Aguinaldo.

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DICKINSON] stated in effect that at the time the Americans went into the Philippine Islands the natives had about accomplished their independence; that thereupon we came in and took possession of the islands. My friend from Missouri is not familiar with Philippine history. Nearly six months before our entrance upon the scene the leaders of the revolution against Spain had sold out their people. They agreed to accept \$800,000, and in consideration thereof some of their leaders, including Aguinaldo, promised to lay down their arms and to quit the islands forever. * * *

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a few words in behalf of Gen. Aguinaldo. I was at one time an officer in the Philippine army, having left college in response to the call of my country to fight under her flag. For several months I was on the staff of Gen. Aguinaldo, then President of the Philippine Republic and commanding general of its army. I had occasion, therefore, to know Gen. Aguinaldo well and intimately, and from personal observation I can assert without fear of successful contradiction that he is a man of high character and patriotism.

The revolution against Spain was the outcome of a long peaceful campaign carried on, at first not precisely for independence, but to secure from the Spanish Crown a more liberal government in the Philippine Islands. The revolution started in 1896, and in 1897 the Spanish governor general at Manila sought to secure peace by reaching an understanding with the Filipino leaders of the rebellion. It was agreed between the governor general and these leaders that the rebels should lay down their arms on the following terms: That the liberal reforms demanded by the Filipinos be instituted in the government of the Philippines; that the leaders of the rebellion be not interfered with and leave the country unmolested; and that \$800,000 in Mexican money—then the currency of the Philippine Islands—be given to these leaders by the Spanish Government as indemnity for the damages they had suffered on account of the revolution, as payment for the guns that they surrendered, and as a means of providing for their support and maintenance abroad. In view of the fact that the Spanish Govern-

ment had agreed to grant the liberal reforms earlier asked for by the Filipino people before the revolution started no one can question the right, nay, the duty, of the Filipino revolutionists to end a contest which was causing so much loss of life and property to our country, and which evidently, at that time, could not accomplish more than what Spain had promised to concede. Aguinaldo, therefore, and his followers left the land that they had hoped to live and die in not to return again. But they were willing to make this sacrifice and to go far from their beloved ones, so that their people might receive and enjoy in peace the liberal reforms that were promised them. Had these Filipino exiles, who had volunteered to sacrifice themselves for their country, used the money paid them by the Spanish Government for their comfortable living abroad, could they not have found justification of their conduct?

I have no doubt that if the Filipino people had been asked at the time to say whether or not their misery-stricken compatriots should appropriate the money they had received, the answer would have been in the affirmative. Yet Aguinaldo and his companions deposited that money—which never reached the total sum promised—in the banks and used only the interest thereof for their bare existence. They lived in Hongkong in almost complete poverty. They considered the money as a trust fund and kept it intact for patriotic purposes. They decided that if Spain, after they had left the Philippines, should fail to grant to the people of the Philippine Islands the liberal reforms that were promised, they would, as it was their right, use that sum to purchase arms with which they would compel the Spanish Government to comply with the agreement.

When Spain failed to comply with her part of the bargain, when she refused to introduce in the Philippines those reforms that were asked, Aguinaldo did use that money to buy guns, and with those guns he helped the United States wage her war with Spain. Our aim in helping the United States is well known, and I shall not discuss it now. But I want to say that before American soldiers were landed in any part of the archipelago we had taken every town garrisoned by the Spanish army, with the exception of Manila, which was under siege, so that the United States had to send only a few thousand men to compel the surrender of the garrison of Manila.

I want to say another word about Gen. Aguinaldo. As I said before, I know him personally. I had served under him. As gentlemen are aware, Aguinaldo at one time wielded great power in the Philippines. During the revolution he was the supreme military chief, with the powers of a dictator, just as the President of the United States would be here in case of war. He had the physical power to do with the treasure of the then independent Philippine Government what he chose. When he was captured by Gen. Funston, after having exercised this undisputed authority for more than two years, Aguinaldo was as poor as he was when the war started. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, but I want to ask you how many revolutionary chiefs in other parts of the world who have been in the position of Gen. Aguinaldo have done what Aguinaldo did? How many have been

willing to go back to their homes as poor as ever after having had in their possession so much money that they could have appropriated without question? Aguinaldo is not a rich man to-day. He is a modest farmer. He has not accepted any position from the American Government, although it is authoritatively stated that he was offered a good one. He is not even in politics now.

Why? He wanted to show the world that he fought for his country, not because of any desire for personal profit or power, but out of patriotism, and that when he could not fight any longer he could go to his home and lead a peaceful and modest life, the life of a good citizen, working upon his farm, as he is doing now. Thus Aguinaldo has demonstrated that the Filipinos who had known how to fight know likewise how to work in time of peace. I need say no more. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

* * * * *

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1914.

Freedom of Religion.

Mr. MURRAY offered the following amendment:

"That H. R. 18459 be amended as follows:

"On page 5, line 9, strike out the period, insert a semicolon, and add the following: 'and no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights. No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary or sectarian institution as such. Polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited.'"

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say, in connection with the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MURRAY], that the Filipino people believe absolutely and heartily in religious freedom. Immediately after our successful revolution against Spain the Filipino people proceeded at once to frame a constitution for the Republic of the Philippines. In spite of the fact that the islands during the 300 years of Spanish domination had had only one church—the Roman Catholic—which was also the State church of Spain, and notwithstanding that the framers of the constitution of the Philippine Republic were all Catholics, one of the provisions of that constitution guaranteed freedom of worship, freedom of religion. May I call the attention of the House to this remarkable event which indicates that the Filipinos are, as it were, by temperament, a liberty-loving people? The history of the world shows that no country which has been for centuries under the influence of a single church, and which church was an integral part of its political institutions, has succeeded in establishing religious freedom without bloodshed. Page after page of human history tell of the martyrs of religious intolerance. This country of yours was founded by those who would sooner give up their homes than permit the State to dictate whom they shall worship. Cromwell thought himself the instrument of Providence to destroy the church of those who, like him, claimed that Christ was their Savior.

Every country of Europe, many of Latin America and of Asia, are guilty of the crime of religious persecution, but we have seen

nothing of the kind in the Philippine Islands. As I said before, during the short life of the Philippine Republic we established religious freedom; and when the United States superseded our government she brought with her one of the most precious rights of American citizenship—the liberty of the individual to worship God in his own way. And all this was done not only without opposition but with the hearty consent of the whole Filipino people.

To-day the majority of the Filipinos are still Roman Catholics. Few belong to the Aglipayan or native church; few others have become Protestants. But they all live side by side in perfect harmony; they work hand in hand, and they vote according to their political ideas, without regard to their religious convictions. Freedom of religion has been established in the Philippine Islands once and for good. We realize that such freedom is to the interest of the Catholics as much as of Protestants.

I do not therefore object to that part of the amendment of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MURRAY] which insures the separation between the church and the state. But I deemed it necessary to state that the Philippine Legislature hardly needs this constitutional inhibition. The Protestant Church can rest assured that the people of the Philippines, Catholic though the majority of them be, will receive as fair a treatment from the Philippine Government as the Catholic Church or any other.

As to polygamy, this has not existed among the Christian Filipinos within the last 300 years. [Applause.]

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1914.

The Truth About "Slavery" in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. FESS, of Ohio, introduced the following amendment:

Page 4, at the end of line 3, strike out the period and insert a comma, and add the following: "Or held in satisfaction of the same in involuntary servitude by his creditor."

Mr. QUEZON, Mr. Chairman, whether the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] is or is not right in his contention, that the object of the amendment introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] is accomplished by the provision of the last paragraph on page 4, I am prepared to say that I should not, so far as the object aimed at is concerned, have the slightest objection to having the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio put into the bill.

I regret, however, that the gentleman thought it necessary in the discussion of his amendment to revive the question of the supposed slavery and peonage in the Philippines.

I am particularly regretful that the gentleman from Ohio should have renewed the discussion of this subject, because the matter he refers to has been thoroughly investigated by the most unimpeachable authorities and has been fully disposed of. This discussion is, therefore, out of date, and certainly throws no light upon this bill.

So far as I know; this issue was raised for the first time in the United States early in 1913, when a resolution of inquiry regarding the question of slavery was introduced in the Senate. This resolution grew out of an article in the National Humane Review, largely made up of a letter written by the then secre-

tary of the interior of the Philippine Government, Mr. Dean C. Worcester, in which Mr. Worcester made the charge in question. In due time this resolution was answered by the Secretary of War in a letter reading in part as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 6, 1913.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

SIR: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of the following resolution of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to send to the Senate any and all facts bearing directly or indirectly upon the truth of the charge publicly made that human slavery exists at this time in the Philippine Islands and that human beings are bought and sold in such islands as chattels."

In response thereto I beg leave to state as follows:

There is not in this department, to the knowledge of the Secretary thereof or of the head of the bureau having charge of insular affairs, a record of any facts bearing directly or indirectly upon the truth of the charge, publicly made, that human slavery exists at this time in the Philippine Islands and that human beings are bought and sold in such islands as chattels.

The only information concerning this matter of which there is any record in this department or the branch of it having to do with insular affairs is the following:

In a hearing before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, on Wednesday, February 10, 1904, Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, said:

"I have no doubt that slavery continues in part of the Moro Province, and that there is some slavery in some of the Christian Filipino Provinces that lie near to the mountain tribes. This latter we are trying hard to eliminate. I had a report from a constabulary officer from the Province of Isabela, saying that it was not the general custom, but that it was not uncommon for hill-tribe parents to bring their children into a Filipino village and to sell a child to a wealthy man in the village who would use him as a servant. That is contrary to law, and we have directed prosecution in every case brought to our attention."

The foregoing is taken from the printed report of the hearings before the House Committee on Insular Affairs.

* * * * *

It would seem from such investigation as time has permitted to be made of the law existing in the Philippine Islands, that there are provisions in the criminal code, both with respect to that part of said islands inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes and fully organized Christian Provinces, covering unlawful detention, whether called slavery or not, as a result of which a person unlawfully detaining another or coercing him to work against his will may be imprisoned and fined.

Very respectfully,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

One would think, Mr. Chairman, that this should have been a sufficient reply to the injurious suggestion originating with the former secretary of the interior of the Philippines, but, as it happened, further conclusive evidence on the subject was also furnished to the American public in a statement issued by former Justice James F. Tracey, of the insular supreme court. Justice Tracey said, in a letter published in the New York Times:

The April number of the National Humane Review, the organ of the American Humane Association, published an article headed "Human Slavery Still Exists Under the United States Flag," made up chiefly of a letter from Hon. Dean C. Worcester, secretary of the interior of the Philippine Islands, to Dr. William O. Stillman, president of the Humane Association. To this article currently is given by the publication of a summary of it in your issue of this morning in a dispatch from Washington printed under the caption "Slaves Even in Manila." The deduction drawn from the supposed condition of slavery in the islands is that the Philippine Assembly by refusing to pass a bill punishing slavery throughout the islands as a crime has demonstrated its incapacity as a legislature to deal with this modern humane problem.

Mr. Worcester's charge is largely based on the decision of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, the syllabus of which is quoted by him at length, as follows:

"There is at present no law punishing slave holding as a crime.

"The constitutional provision of the Philippine bill 'that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in these islands,' while operating to nullify any agreement in contravention of it, requires supplementary legislation to give it effect criminally.

"We are dealing not with a civil remedy but with a criminal charge in relation to which the Bill of Rights defines no crime and provides no punishment. Its effects can not be carried into the realm of criminal law without an act of the legislature."

It happens that to me, as one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands at the time, was assigned the writing of the opinion of the court in the case, which is reported at page 64 of the eighth volume of the Philippine Reports, now before me. Without desiring a controversy with Mr. Worcester or Gen. McIntyre, also mentioned in your Washington dispatch, I feel it incumbent on me to promptly call attention to the substance of this decision. The record before the court shows not that slavery existed in any form throughout the Philippine Islands, but only a custom of child servitude or apprenticeship in certain mountain regions. The opinion says:

"It is proved in the case that it is an Igorot custom to dispose of children to pay the debts of their fathers, the transaction in the native language being termed a sale, and the defendant appears to have engaged in the business of buying in Nueva Vizcaya children to sell in the lowlands of Isabela. * * *

"The name applied to it by the custom of the Igorots is not enough to establish that in truth and in effect it was a sale or anything more than a contract for services. * * *

"The employment or custody of a minor with the consent or suffering of the parents or guardian, although against the child's own will, can not be considered involuntary servitude."

It is likened to an indenturing of children, in accordance with custom, unprotected by statutory safeguards. After calling attention both to the American constitutional declarations against servitude and the humane provisions of the Spanish codes prohibiting the abuse of minors, as well as the declaration of the Spanish law of the thirteenth century that "slavery is a thing that all men naturally abhor," the court suggests that any remedy is for the consideration of the legislature rather than action by the criminal courts.

The further inference is to be drawn from Mr. Worcester's letter that antislavery laws were thereafter passed applicable to the mountain Provinces and the Moro Province, and the offense which he finds is that the legislature refuses to apply a similar law to the civilized parts of the islands. The reason for the refusal is plain. The assembly does not consider that slavery exists in the civilized parts of the islands. It is stated in the letter that "there are Negrito slaves held to-day in the city of Manila." If this is so, their liberation can be enforced any day through a writ of habeas corpus. I am too well aware of Mr. Worcester's skill as a seasoned controversialist to believe that he has ventured upon a specific assertion without holding some proof of it in reserve. I can only say that having been some years a resident of Manila in official position, such a condition of things is unknown to me, as it was unknown to my colleagues, some of whom have resided in the Philippine Islands all their lives. The condition must be exceptional and abnormal, as it is illegal, existing in the islands, as phrased by Gen. McIntyre, "Just as crime exists everywhere."

It may also be observed that for years before the organization of the Philippine Assembly the legislation of the Philippine Islands was in the hands of a commission dominated by Americans, having in its power the passage of an antislavery law on any day at any hour. The reproach, if it be genuine, lies with far greater force against the American commission than the Philippine Assembly, in view of the existence of this species of servitude in the mountain Provinces, which were immediately under the jurisdiction of the secretary of the interior.

It has passed into an adage that "you can not indict a whole people." All history proves that by innuendo you may calumniate a whole people. I may be permitted to say that while not one of those who think Philippine independence a timely or tenable thing to-day, I deplore the creation of a public opinion in this country based on misconception of a subject that truly needs all the light that can be shed on it by men holding official places.

JAMES F. TRACEY.

ALBANY, May 3, 1913.

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Mr. Chairman, the foregoing testimony of the Secretary of War and of an ex-member of the Philippine Supreme Court ought to have been satisfactory and final in closing this unfortunate controversy. But Mr. Worcester would not stop at that point, and, at a great expense to the Filipino people, he had printed a voluminous report entitled "Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands." Though this was supposed to be for the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, extra copies were made and sent broadcast throughout the United States. Later he included much of this document in his book entitled "The Philippines, Past and Present."

Mr. Worcester, in a vain effort to justify his early declarations that slavery exists in the Philippines, used all the agencies of the Philippine Government to find out individual instances of deprivation of personal liberty that had taken place in any part of the islands, the Moro Province included, and cited them in the publications I have referred to before as technical cases of slavery. Any sensible person who will attentively and without prejudice read both the report and the book of Mr. Worcester will at once be convinced that the efforts of the ex-secretary of the interior have failed, because if they show anything whatever, it is that there is no such thing as slavery in that part of the Philippines inhabited by Christian Filipinos—certainly not in the sense that it existed in the United States prior to the Civil War. The so-called "typical cases of slavery" cited by Mr. Worcester are in fact, in some instances, criminal actions, for which very heavy punishments are provided in the penal code, and which are given in that code such names as "illegal detention," "kidnaping," and the like. Indeed, many of these so-called typical cases have been actually tried in the courts of the Philippine Islands and the defendants therein have been convicted and imprisoned. In other instances these "typical slavery cases," like all those that Mr. Worcester alarmingly styles "purchase and sale of human beings," are either ordinary contracts for personal services, wherein the employer advances the wages of the employee, who is a minor, to the employee's parents or tutors, or they are cases of adoption, wherein the adoptive parents make a present to the destitute mother of the adopted child. When Gov. Gen. Harrison visited last year the town of Bacolor, one of the young men who delivered an address of welcome to the governor in correct English was the "victim" in one of Mr. Worcester's slavery cases. He was "purchased" when still a babe, and his "purchaser," who was a wealthy Filipino of the town of Bacolor, educated him, and upon her death made him her heir. There is, therefore, no reason for the oneries of Mr. Worcester, and much less for the expenditure of the money of the Filipino people in printing and distributing his report broadcast except Mr. Worcester's desire unjustly to depict the Filipino people—for whom he has always entertained an ill-concealed, strong dislike, if not contempt or hatred—as a people devoid of all humanitarian sentiment and moral sense and badly in need of an iron hand to keep them in good behavior.

The following paragraph, which appears on page 82 of Mr. Worcester's special report, and is repeated in more or less the same words on page 729, volume 2, of his book, gives a fair idea of

the impression that the ex-secretary of the interior for the Philippine Islands meant to create in the United States with his "slavery slogan."

Without hesitation I assert that the existence of slavery and peonage in the Philippines is the greatest single problem which there confronts the Government of the United States in its effort to build up a respectable and responsible electorate and to establish representative government.

Shall human flesh be openly bought and sold under the American flag?

If this pathetic and shocking statement presented any semblance of actual conditions in the islands, what a serious charge would the American Government have to answer before the inexorable bar of history! How would the United States satisfy the enlightened opinion and humanitarian sentiment of the world horrified by the discovery that after 15 years of continuous and supreme American control of the archipelago "human flesh is still openly bought and sold" and that this "greatest single problem" of the islands is still unsolved? And what an indictment—if the above-quoted statement of Mr. Worcester was true—what an indictment such a statement would be against every Governor General of the Philippines, beginning with Mr. Taft and coming down to Gov. Forbes, as well as against every member of the Philippine Commission who sat in that body up to the year 1913, more particularly against Mr. Worcester himself, the only commissioner who has held a commissionership continuously from the inauguration of that body until September, 1913.

Fortunately for the United States and for Mr. Worcester himself, they need not suffer the condemnation of mankind on this score, because there never existed in the islands any such problem as alleged. To be sure, in the Moro Province—a territory which has always been under the exclusive control of American officials—slavery was at one time a common practice, and upon the arrival of the first American troops a treaty ratified by the Sultan of Jolo and the American commanding officer provided that this institution should not be interfered with by the American Government. But this shameful treaty was at once repudiated by the Washington authorities, so that even in the Moro Province within a few years following American occupation no "human flesh" was any longer "bought and sold under the American flag."

But whatever the merits of Mr. Worcester's admonition at the time it was uttered, this "greatest single problem" confronting the United States in the Philippines at the end of 15 years of supreme American rule was promptly and early met by the Philippine Legislature after the Filipinos came into control of both of its branches. On November 28, 1913, an antislavery act was adopted. This originated with the Philippine Assembly, and it passed both houses at a time when Filipinos alone, and without any American member excepting the Governor General, sat in the legislature.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from the Philippine Islands yield to the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes; with pleasure.

Mr. MILLER. On the occasion of the visit I made to the legislature, which the gentleman so very well described the

other day, the assembly passed the act prohibiting slavery, and the gentleman's statement is correct. Is it not also true that prior thereto the American commission had on three separate and distinct occasions passed such an act prohibiting slavery, and that each of those acts was killed by the assembly?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I am very sorry that my distinguished friend has asked me that question, because he compels me to go further than I intended to into this subject, thus forcing me to mention facts that may not be pleasant. The question of the gentleman reopens the whole controversy about slavery, now happily closed.

It would seem to be suggested by his leading question that the Philippine Commission had done everything in its power to enact an antislavery measure and that it was the assembly's fault that such a measure failed to become law. Indeed, Mr. Worcester has openly made this charge against the Philippine Assembly.

A little of the history of the Philippine Government since American occupation would at once reveal where the fault lay, were it true that slavery exists in the Philippine Islands in so general and an alarming a form—as the above-quoted statement of Mr. Worcester would indicate—that it required the immediate adoption of measures for its eradication, which had been until lately neglected.

Upon the assumption of sovereignty by the United States over the Philippine Islands all the powers of government were vested, up to October, 1907, first, in the military commander of the army of occupation, and, subsequently, in an American Governor General and in a Philippine Commission, presided over by that governor and composed chiefly of Americans, appointed by the President of the United States. This Philippine Commission, from 1900 up to October, 1907, was exclusively vested with the power to legislate for the Philippines, and it could have passed during that time any act that it chose regardless of the attitude and desire of the Filipino people.

Had the Philippine Commission intended to pass such an act as was suggested by the gentleman from Minnesota, it could easily have done so prior to the establishment of the Philippine Assembly—an event which did not occur until October, 1907. Why this negligence? Both in the report and book of Mr. Worcester he says that shortly after the establishment of the American commission as the legislative authority for the Philippine Islands, the members of the commission, Mr. Worcester himself not excepted, heard of cases of the type that Mr. Worcester calls slavery. Why did the commission do nothing to prevent or punish such crimes during all the seven years of its unrestricted and supreme exclusive legislative control? The answer to this question given by Mr. Worcester is one of the most remarkable mental acrobatic efforts I have ever seen.

In the first place, Mr. Worcester tells us that an attempt to draft an antislavery act took place in October, 1903, and the suggestion that the act be drafted and submitted to the commission for action was made by Mr. Taft, then president of the Philippine Commission. But the act never saw the light at the time. Why? This is the answer given by Mr. Worcester on page 22 of his report and on page 692, Volume II, of his

book: "Why such an act was not drafted and passed, I do not know." This answer shows the seriousness of the evil that was meant to be stamped out and the earnestness of those who are said to be anxious to eradicate it, since Mr. Worcester seems to feel absolutely relieved by saying, "I do not know." Indeed, he could have very well added, but he left it to the imagination of the public, "and I don't care."

So, this first attempt at antislavery legislation took place in 1903. "My personal attention," Mr. Worcester proceeds, "was forcibly drawn to the existence of slavery outside of the Moro territory when I first inspected Nueva Vizcaya in 1905." But Mr. Worcester did not then induce the commission to enact immediate antislavery legislation, because, as he explains it, he "then entertained the belief, still held by some Americans, that both slavery and the sale and purchase of human beings could be adequately punished under certain provisions of the Spanish penal code, which were then and still are in effect."

Note, Mr. Chairman, that we are told, on the one hand, that in 1903 Mr. Taft had already recommended that an antislavery act be framed; and on the other, that in 1905, after the personal attention of Mr. Worcester "was forcibly drawn to the existence of slavery outside of the Moro territory," he—Mr. Worcester—did not immediately renew the effort initiated by Mr. Taft to enact such antislavery legislation because the opinion was still held by himself that the Spanish penal code offered adequate punishment for would-be or actual slaveholders.

But let me continue. In order to have an authoritative opinion, Mr. Worcester says that the attorney general was asked to render his opinion on the subject. This was done, and in accord therewith a test case was brought before the courts, the final decision rendered thereon by the highest tribunal of the Philippine Islands having been an acquittal of the defendant. Mr. Worcester construed this decision as meaning that the supreme court had decided that the Spanish penal code did not punish slavery. Many a lawyer in the Philippines, and all the members of the Philippine Assembly, did not agree with the construction placed by Mr. Worcester upon that court's decision. I myself believe that the ground whereon the court dismissed the case was that there was no evidence presented in support of the complaint. But this is immaterial to the point that I am now trying to make. The material fact is that Mr. Worcester himself in his report and book says that in view of this decision, "the necessity of legislation seemed obvious."

How did Mr. Worcester conduct himself in the performance of his plain duty after his "personal attention was forcibly drawn to the existence of slavery," and after he felt that "the necessity of legislation seemed obvious"? At that time the commission was still the sole legislative authority of the Philippine Islands and Mr. Worcester was a very influential—indeed, the ranking—member of that commission. Did Mr. Worcester then frame and introduce the legislation regarding which he says he did not know why it was not enacted in 1903? Did he frame and introduce the legislation which after the test case was disposed of he says was, in his opinion, an obvious necessity?

He did not. What is his reason now? Let him speak for himself. He says:

The Philippine Assembly was about to meet for the first time. The work of drafting a proper bill was duly provided for, and I am sure that no member of the commission for a moment entertained the belief that there would be any difficulty in securing the concurrence of the assembly in the passage of a reasonable act prohibiting and penalizing slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, and the sale and purchase of human beings.

When it is remembered that from October 1 to October 12, 1907, four days immediately preceding the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, the commission, in its desire to cover all subjects of legislation before there was a popular house to reckon with, enacted 70 laws, one may reasonably question the value of Mr. Worcester's explanation. But I shall take it at face value. Let us now see whether, after the inauguration of the assembly, Mr. Worcester tried to secure the enactment of the badly needed legislation. He himself says that not until 1909 did he draft the desired bill. Why this delay? Why, on such an important measure as this—the measure that was to give the final blow to “the greatest single problem confronting the United States in the Philippine Islands”—why, I repeat, on such important legislation as this should two years have been allowed to pass without any action on the part of the commission?

Mr. Worcester again gives us his reason, but he is no more fortunate or convincing this time than in his earlier reasonings. He says:

The gentleman charged with drafting the bill encountered difficulty in so framing it that it would accomplish the desired end without unduly interfering with the rights of parents to dispose of their children. Long delay occurred.

Mr. Chairman, on the strength of this statement, if I did not know Mr. Worcester's ability “as a seasoned controversialist”—in the words of Justice Tracey—I should think him lacking in common sense; but being familiar with his controversial ability I must believe that he takes for granted that, outside of himself, there is no man in this world who can see a joke. He must have been in an extremely good humor—an unusual thing for him—when he wrote that paragraph. How can any man say, and keep from laughing at himself or at his readers, that to frame a single act to punish slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage, with many similar measures in other parts of the world to copy from or to follow as “precedent,” is so difficult a task that long delay is inevitable? And this delay lasted two years! If it be true that the Philippine Commission could not frame so simple and plain a law in less than two years, with the office of the Attorney General and other law offices at their command, then that commission stands convicted of utter incompetency. Yet the Filipino people were for many years under the exclusive legislative authority of such a commission! Of course, the commission was able to frame this bill had it desired to do so. Mr. Worcester himself is a well-informed man. He could have written such a bill in a day; at any rate, in much less time than he employed in writing his report. Is it not sad to see that Mr. Worcester thus let slip his opportunity to become the Lincoln of the Philippines!

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from the Philippines yield to the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. CLINE. The gentleman says that during the last session of the Philippine Legislature they passed a law punishing slavery and peonage?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; this law originated with the Philippine Assembly and was passed also by the commission when only one American member was in the islands.

Mr. CLINE. It is charged, though, by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] that on three different occasions the Filipinos had an opportunity to concur with the commission in these acts.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. How do you explain their failure to do it?

Mr. QUEZON. I am coming to that now, but I thought I should first inform the committee as to the whole process that this antislavery legislation went through, according to Mr. Worcester's own account, so that gentlemen may form a proper conception of the true import of the so-called slavery question in the Philippine Islands and the reasons that the assembly had for not concurring with the commission in the passage of the antislavery legislation, as suggested by the question of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER].

From what I said, Mr. Chairman, or, rather, from what Mr. Worcester himself says, which I quoted, the salient, clearly established fact is that from the creation of the Philippine Commission down to 1907, when the commission was the sole legislative body of the Philippine Islands, no antislavery legislation was enacted, and that not until 1909 such a bill was passed by that body. Now, this being the case—and there is not the slightest dispute about it—we are face to face with this dilemma: That either there was no slavery in the Philippines so real or so general as to demand immediate attention and to require special legislation on the part of the Philippine Commission, or if there was slavery, so openly and extensively practiced as to constitute "the greatest single problem confronting the United States in the Philippines," there never was a body of more incompetent or more criminally negligent officials than the members of the Philippine Commission, who, down to 1909, failed utterly and in disregard of their most imperative duty to enact the necessary legislation. Since this last theory would seriously indict several men of recognized capacity and devotion to duty, such as ex-President Taft, ex-Secretary of War Wright, ex-Gov. Gen. Smith, ex-Gov. Gen. Forbes, and every ex-member of the Philippine Commission, the only plausible theory is that Mr. Worcester's agitation about slavery in the Philippines is a tempest in a teapot. And there is really the truth and the whole truth in a nutshell. That is why the assembly refused to concur with the Philippine Commission in passing the antislavery legislation, which unexpectedly became at the eleventh hour the mania of the ex-secretary of the interior.

The members of the Philippine Assembly did not believe then that in the territory inhabited by their respective constituencies slavery in its legitimate meaning existed.

Mr. Chairman, I can anticipate the further question that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CLINE] is formulating in his own mind. He wishes to know if the members of the assembly who voted for the antislavery legislation enacted at the last session of the Philippine Legislature came at last to the conclusion that slavery was practiced among their constituents and that the Penal Code did not contain provisions punishing that crime. Well, nothing of the sort had happened. I, for one, can give a very good reason why in 1913 an antislavery act was needed, regardless of whether there then was slavery or not in the islands, and of whether the Penal Code imposed heavy penalties for all kinds of violations of personal liberty. On January 28, 1912, a law was enacted legalizing compulsory service and providing severe penalties for employees who should leave the service of their employers before they had paid their debts. That law was introduced in the Philippine Commission on November 11, 1911, passed that body on November 14, 1911, and became a law on January 20, 1912, as I stated. This law being of later date than the Penal Code, it obviously annulled the provisions of that code which were in conflict therewith; and while, because of the unconstitutionality of that law, the provisions of the Penal Code were not really annulled, it was better, in order to avoid legal controversies, that a new act be passed "confirming existing legislation prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage," just as the Philippine Legislature did. No better proof could be given of the lack of sincerity of Mr. Worcester in his alleged effort to eradicate the supposed slavery and peonage in the Philippine Islands than the passage by the commission of that peonage bill—a bill giving legal force to the retention of one man by another for the purpose of compelling the former to render a service to the latter—at a time when Mr. Worcester was the ranking member of that body and was insisting upon having the Philippine Assembly concur with the Philippine Commission in passing antislavery and antipeonage legislation. What a shameful farce! And this was being done while Mr. Worcester was appealing to humane organizations of this country with his alarming denunciations about slavery and peonage in the Philippine Islands. The fact that the commission did pass such a bill indicates, at least, that if slavery and peonage had been common practices in the Philippine Islands, the time had arrived when the working class knew that its members had the right to work for whomsoever they chose and to leave the service of their employers at will, and were beginning to make use of that right. And in order to keep these unfortunate creatures down, in order to deprive them of that inviolable right, an act which Mr. Worcester himself took part in passing was enacted.

To the everlasting benefit and glory of the Filipino people, to the confusion and shame of those who accuse them of tolerating, if not heartily supporting, the use of their fellow men as animals, the present Philippine Legislature, by enacting last year its antislavery act, blotted out forever the only page on our statute books which bore upon it a barbarous, inhuman, criminal measure. [Applause.]

I shall print this law in the RECORD, and side by side with it I shall print the antislavery legislation enacted by the present Philippine Legislature:

ANTISLAVERY LAW PASSED BY THE
FILIPINIZED LEGISLATURE NO-
VEMBER 28, 1913.

An act confirming existing legislation prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage in the Philippine Islands, subject to modifications as provided in sections 268, 269, 270, and 271 of the act of the Congress of the United States approved March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," and adopting measures for preventing violations of said laws.

By authority of the United States, be it enacted by the Philippine Legislature, that—

SECTION 1. Nothing provided in the existing legislation shall be understood or construed as directly or indirectly permitting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage in the Philippine Islands. Subject to the modifications provided in the next following section, the provisions of law prohibiting and punishing slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage contained in any laws, orders, ordinances, decrees, instructions, or regulations promulgated during Spanish government and applicable to the Philippine Islands are hereby confirmed and ratified.

SEC. 2. The provisions of sections 268, 269, 270, and 271 of the act of the Congress of the United States approved on March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," are hereby adopted, with the necessary modifications, as if they had been enacted by the Philippine Legislature, to be in force within the territory subject to the jurisdiction of said legislature, so that said sections, as modified, shall read as follows:

(a) Whoever kidnap or carries away any other person, with the intent that such other person be sold into involuntary servitude or held as a slave; or who entices, persuades, or induces any other person to go on board any vessel or to any other place with the intent that he may be made or held as a slave, or sent out of the country to be so made or held; or who in any way knowingly aids in causing any other person to be held, sold, or carried away to be held or sold as a slave, shall be fined not more than ₱10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any man-

PEONAGE LAW PASSED BY COMMISSION NOVEMBER 14, 1911.

An act relating to contracts of personal service and advances thereunder, and providing punishment for certain offenses connected therewith.

By authority of the United States, be it enacted by the Philippine Legislature, that—

SECTION 1. Any person who, with intent to injure or defraud his employer, enters into a contract for the performance of any act or personal service, and thereby obtains money or other personal property from such employer as a gratuity or advance on wages to be earned under such contract of employment, and without just cause, and without refunding such money or paying for such property, refuses or fails to perform such act of service, shall on conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not more than ₱200 or imprisonment for not more than six months, or with both penalties.

SEC. 2. Any person who, with intent to injure or defraud his landlord, enters into a contract in writing for the rent of land under an agreement to cultivate such land, thereby obtains money or other personal property from such landlord, and without just cause, and without refunding such money or paying for such personal property, refuses or fails to cultivate such land or to comply with his contract relative thereto, shall on conviction be punished by a fine of not more than ₱200 or imprisonment for not more than six months, or with both penalties.

SEC. 3. Any person who, with intent to injure or defraud, shall contract with another to receive from him personal service of any kind and to compensate him therefor, and thereafter with like intent receive the benefit of such service in whole or in part and fails or refuses to pay the compensation agreed upon shall upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not more than ₱200 or imprisonment for not more than six months, or with both penalties.

Enacted, January 20, 1912.

ner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(c) Whoever obstructs, or attempts to obstruct, or in any way interferes with or prevents the enforcement of the section last preceding shall be liable to the penalties therein prescribed.

(d) Whoever shall knowingly and willfully bring into the Philippine Islands or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof any person inveigled or forcibly kidnaped in any other country, with intent to hold such person so inveigled or kidnaped in confinement or to any involuntary servitude; or whoever shall knowingly and willfully sell, or cause to be sold, into any condition of involuntary servitude, any other person for any term whatever; or whoever shall knowingly and willfully hold to involuntary servitude any person so brought or sold, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 and imprisoned not more than five years.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the provincial governor of every province organized under act No. 83 of the Philippine Commission to obtain information and take all measures that in his judgment may be proper to forestall and thereafter to prevent any violations of this act, and in case such violations have been committed, to order immediate prosecution. It shall also be the duty of the provincial governor to order, where necessary, the institution of habeas corpus proceedings, and he may apply to the provincial fiscal, and in his default to the proper court, for the designation of a lawyer to protect the rights of the person or persons for whose benefit the habeas corpus proceedings shall have been brought, and no fees shall be charged for such services, and the costs shall in every case be de officio.

SEC. 4. The courts of first instance shall have original jurisdiction over all cases for violations of this act.

Enacted, November 28, 1913.

MR. WORCESTER'S BOOK REVIEWED.

Mr. Chairman, I shall insert in the RECORD in connection with my remarks a review of Mr. Worcester's book, entitled "The Philippines—Past and Present," printed in the Wisconsin State Journal, May 30, 1914.

The review referred to is as follows:

No more important work regarding the Philippines has yet been printed in English. No more interesting work regarding them is likely to be written. To properly review it, either for content or argument, would demand much more space than is at our disposition. The title of the work is misleading. It might better bear one somewhat like this: "The achievements of Dean C. Worcester, as judged by himself, with

slaps at Judge Blount." The Good Book tells us that when the Maker of all had finished His six days' toil, He inspected it and declared it good. There have been many human imitators of this divine example; rarely have we known one so satisfied as Prof. Worcester. He declares his Philippine achievement to be very good. The book is one of the "before taking" and "after taking" advertisement sort. It shows us the Philippines before they had Worcester and after they had him; one must be blind not to see the improvement. Mr. Worcester's fundamental proposition is that the Philippines are only possible with us in charge. We have built a splendid structure there, and if we leave it it will crumble. The Filipinos are not fit for independence and will not be for a long time. So we must stay, even if we wished to leave. The earlier chapters of the book are historical, after a fashion. They are intended to relieve conscience. They discuss whether independence was promised and whether we destroyed a republic. It is claimed that we did neither. Insurgent rule is shown to have been a failure, shockingly brutal and cruel, supported by "murder as a governmental agency." The insurrection is said to have been premeditated and the war is stated to have been conducted treacherously. This is a faint picture of the conditions as Worcester depicts them. If one takes his statement just as it stands, it is alarmingly conclusive. Having proved all these things to his own satisfaction, Mr. Worcester proceeds to show what benefits we have conferred and details them one by one. It makes interesting reading, and taken at face value causes one a glow of satisfaction. One may, however, read between the lines. And one sometimes doubts whether Mr. Worcester really takes himself seriously. Almost every topic he takes up raises questions. For example, take health service. We fully appreciate the good done, but there are some curious things in it. We have been too short a time in the islands to know much of cholera and its course there. There was a dreadful outbreak of the disease in 1902-1904. I quote two paragraphs relative to it: In 1902, "before it was finally checked in Manila, there were 5,581 cases, with 4,336 deaths; while in the Provinces, in many of which it necessarily long ran its course practically unhindered, there were 160,671 cases, with 105,075 deaths." In 1904 "the conditions for combating cholera were now more favorable than in 1902," and we have the following results: In Manila "a total of 283 cases and 243 deaths."

"In the Provinces the results of the campaign against cholera were far less satisfactory than in Manila, as was to be anticipated, owing to the lack of adequate personnel, but the cases, which numbered 34,238, and deaths, which numbered 22,938, were far fewer than during the previous epidemic." Examine these satisfactory results a little. In 1902 in Manila 76.7 per cent of the cases died under care; in the Provinces 66.2 per cent of the cases died with inadequate care. In 1904 in Manila 85.8 per cent of the cases died under care, with improved and more favorable conditions; in the Provinces 66.9 per cent of the cases died under inadequate care. Will the death rate in the Philippines, apparently pretty steady at 66 per cent in neglect and bad conditions, finally rise in Manila to 100 per cent when the medical treatment is perfected along modern lines? Mr. Worcester aims, however, to give the impression that danger from cholera is past; that the disease has been stamped out. Thus he states that deaths from cholera have diminished. "In 1908 they numbered 18,811; in 1909, 7,306; in 1910, 6,940; in 1911, 203; in 1912 there were none, and thus far in 1913 there have been none." Curious contrariety of things! In a footnote we read: "Just before I left Manila, in October, 1913, cholera reappeared there."

WORCESTER'S REASONING.

There is no question that Mr. Worcester has been doing his duty all these years in the Philippines with Spartan inflexibility and firmness. He long ago recognized that no thanks were to be expected from the Filipinos. His "wild people" are responsive, but the Filipinos are ungrateful. Mr. Worcester's best friends will hardly claim that he is a man of tact. In his effort to prove the Filipino Assembly incapable of good legislation, Mr. Worcester quotes Speaker Osmeña as follows: "The bill itself was sent to the assembly for action; but on account of the unfriendliness of the members for the secretary of the interior and the lack of sympathy between the assembly and him, it was not given the consideration that it would have received if Mr. Worcester had at the same time sent us the facts which he has sent on to the United States." To Mr. Worcester this remark of Señor Osmeña merely emphasizes the incompetence of the Filipino politician. He excuses his not supporting his bill by the sending of facts by the plea that they all knew the facts. The truly interesting point, however, here is that Mr. Worcester hung onto his job, even when he was so much hated personally that legislation was adversely affected. This was true for years. His usefulness in the commission ended when he was completely dis-

liked by that body, which officially represents seven-eighths of the Philippine population. The tenacity with which he clung to his office after his usefulness was gone became a joke. If it were not so pathetic it would be very, very funny.

On the first occasion when I saw Prof. Worcester he was talking in defense of the Benguet road; he is still defending it; he will have to defend it to his dying day; and after he is gone apologies will still be in order. There are some things, however, into which he does not go. Thus he makes but two incidental references to his libel suit against *El Renacimiento*. It was the best newspaper in the Philippines. It was ably edited. Mr. Worcester's suit against it was a famous incident, which should not have been neglected in this book. Your reviewer felt at the time that the United States Government would have done wisely to buy off Mr. Worcester at any price. To have paid him \$50,000 or \$100,000 or \$200,000 damages to compensate him for his injured feelings would have been good policy and real economy. There had been things before that irritated the Filipinos, but with the closing up of *El Renacimiento* Mr. Worcester's usefulness in the islands came completely to an end.

A WASHING OF DIRTY LINEN.

But the book is full of interesting matter. Some of it is commendable, some is open to criticism; there is much fact, much fancy; there is much unassailable statement of fact, much casuistry. On the whole it is an apology, a party document, a washing of dirty linen. Whom he loves, he adulates; whom he hates, he lashes. Many excellent men who have done great work in the Philippines he ignores. Toward the end of his book he lays an excellent basis for exploitation; he appeals to our cupidity; he shows the wealth and strategic importance of the Philippines. Having demonstrated to his own satisfaction that they can not and will not develop and utilize, we must. It is a simple and easy argument. We must use the Filipino to develop the Philippines for us. He will work under direction, not alone. "We soon discovered that by picking fairly strong men and feeding them plenty of meat we could make them able and willing to do it"—i. e., work. Keep at it! There are millions there for us, if only we can make them do the heavy work. Worcester's book will make a capital promoter's handbook for an exploitation company.

Of course, we can never fit the Filipino for independence and self-government. He must fit himself. We shall never make him into a white man like ourselves—not in a thousand years. Why should we try to do so? He is best to be what nature made him capable of becoming. When we withdraw—but, alas, we are unlikely to withdraw—he will not maintain what we have developed. He ought not to do so; he should not try. Our model government there is a misfit. Filipinos can develop a fitter one. Judged by our standards, it will no doubt be inferior. But they ought to have a chance, and very soon. Many competent judges believe they are less fit for self-government to-day than when we took them over. Some believe that every year we stay they become less fit. We should leave—the sooner the better.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1914.

Time Limit to Presidential Veto on Philippine Legislation.

Mr. MILLER offered the following amendment:

After the word "States," in line 22, page 8, strike out the period and insert a colon, together with the following: "*Provided further, That the President shall approve or disapprove any act mentioned in the foregoing proviso within 90 days from and after its enactment and submission for his approval, and if not approved within such time it shall become a law, the same as if it had been specifically approved.*"

* * * * *

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, it is with a great deal of diffidence that I decide to place myself in opposition to the chairman of the Insular Committee, for whom I feel not only respect but love. Whether it is necessary or not to put a time limit to the President's approval on legislation affecting our currency or coinage laws, there is a very good reason why this limit should be required in the case of our tariff acts. The

gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] well said, when he discussed his amendment to this section, that tariff bills are essentially partisan issues in the United States. While the arguments of the gentleman from Iowa strongly appealed to me as justifying the elimination of the whole proviso, I did not feel at liberty to support his contention, because I see the force of the proposition that tariff acts necessarily affect foreign relations, and as long as the Philippines are under the sovereignty of the United States we can not quite expect from you the granting of such powers as may, even with the remotest possibility, cause you annoyance in your international relations. But surely the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] does not involve this danger. Our tariff bills can not become laws, under the terms of the amendment, unless approved by the President of the United States, except that he must act within three months or else the proposed measure shall become law in any event. There is no one, I am sure, who would care to contend that if our tariff law contained any item that might jeopardize the interests of the American people or provoke any conflict with a foreign power the President should not at once disapprove it; so that on this score the adoption of the amendment will do no harm. On the other hand, there is the distinct advantage, if this amendment is adopted, that when the act is not particularly objectionable, but it is not the pleasure or the convenience of the President to approve it, he may let the bill become a law without signing it.

I can conceive a case in which a President of the United States may prefer not to approve a tariff bill enacted by the Philippine Legislature and yet let it become a law. A Republican President, for instance, in all likelihood would not want to approve a free-trade tariff bill in the Philippine Island and a Democratic President would prefer not to approve a protective tariff bill.

Let me explain to the committee what I mean. I take it that the President of the United States would wish to allow the Philippine Legislature to enact such tariff laws for the Philippines as will best promote the interests of the islands. Suppose that conditions there demanded a protective tariff and the legislature enacted that kind of a tariff; let us suppose also that there were at the time in the White House a Democratic President. He does not believe in protection, his party does not believe in it, and if he is a consistent man and he is required to approve the bill affirmatively, the reasonable assumption is that he never would approve it. If, on the other hand, he could allow the bill to become law without his approval and he were satisfied that there would be no harm to the United States from the operations of the bill, he might decide to leave the responsibility of adopting a protective policy to the legislature, without by his signature approving of that policy. The same thing may be said if the islands should need a low tariff or free trade and the President were a Republican. Mr. Chairman, I deem it very important that this bill should give the President of the United States an opportunity to let the Filipinos enact such laws as they consider best, but which the President, because of his political principles, may not approve of. I hope, therefore, that the committee will adopt the amendment.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1914.

Woman Suffrage.

* * * * *

Mr. MANN offered the following amendment:
 Amend, on page 11, line 15, before the word "citizen," strike out the word "male," and in line 21, after the word "he," insert the words "or she."

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, it is evident from the statements made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] that the main purpose of his amendment is to test the sentiment and conviction of this House on the issue of woman suffrage. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the Philippine bill does not offer the proper opportunity for such a test.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUEZON. With pleasure.

Mr. MANN. It is the only opportunity.

Mr. QUEZON. I beg to disagree with the gentleman; and if he will allow me to continue, I think I shall be able to prove that I am right.

Statesmen have the right to advocate such doctrines as they believe should be embodied in law to further the public good. But I deny that, under free institutions, legislative bodies have a right to enact such laws when the people whom they represent are not favorable to them. Wise legislation is not the expression of mere theories. It is the adaptation of those theories to the circumstances and conditions of a country, and among free people, it should also be in accord with and not against the opinions of the people themselves. These propositions, Mr. Chairman, are nowadays recognized as self-evident truths. If you apply them to the amendment now before the committee, you will conclude that you should vote down the amendment even if you were in favor of woman suffrage for the United States.

Mr. Chairman, let me say right here that I believe in the political equality of men and women. I would not subscribe to the theory that the right to vote belongs exclusively to man because of his sex; therefore I would not withhold the franchise from women if they wanted to exercise it; but neither would I impose this duty upon them against their will. I say "duty," because, in my opinion, while the ballot is a right, once the right has been granted it thereby becomes one of the most important duties of citizenship. I am therefore opposed to the amendment introduced by the gentleman from Illinois, because the women of my country—practically all of them, so far as I know their will—do not want to vote.

A few years ago a woman-suffrage movement was undertaken in Manila that ended in complete failure. A few meetings were held, but it has not been possible to create any interest in this movement either on the part of the men or on the part of the women, still less to find any number of advocates for it. In the Provinces nobody ever attempted to discuss the question, and our women there would be decidedly against it. I hope, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that the committee, in its wisdom, will not care to impose upon our women the duty of voting.

Mr. Chairman, while I am opposed to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois, I welcome the opportunity he has thus offered me to say a word or two about Filipino women. An

important subject, which has not been considered to the extent that it deserves in the discussion of Philippine matters, is the condition and qualification of our womanhood and the part it plays in our life. The Filipino woman occupies a position enjoyed by no other oriental woman. She is what women are in the most enlightened countries in the world. In the home the wife is the inspiration of her husband; the mother, the mold of the character of her sons; the daughter, the hope, the consolation, the comfort of her parents. Indeed, even in business women are consulted by men. Long before American occupation there were already in the islands public schools and many colleges for women, so that even at that time education was not an exclusive privilege of men. Since the establishment of public schools during the American régime the benefit of free education has been equally enjoyed by our girls and our boys. Instances are not rare when in the classes the intellectual star shines from among the girls. In the University of the Philippines some of the graduating classes have been headed by girls. I venture to say, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that the character and intelligence of our women alone would justify our optimism as to the wonderful possibilities of our country. Now, let me give the committee a piece of information taken from volume 2, page 117, of the Philippine Census which is very interesting. It is as follows:

The number of women who reported themselves as prostitutes was 476, nearly all of whom were in Manila. Of these, 75 were white, nearly all the countries of Europe being represented, besides the United States. Two hundred and sixty, or more than half, were yellow, practically all of whom were Japanese, and only 141, or 1 in 25,000 of the female population of the islands, were Filipinos. It is rather extraordinary that in this Malay Archipelago seven-tenths of all the prostitutes were from foreign lands, a fact which speaks volumes for the chastity of the Filipinos.

Mr. Chairman, one word more and I shall finish. It is unnecessary to impose upon our women the burden of going to the polls because they are already interested in public questions. Their wholesome influence, exercised at home, tells on the public mind.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I am sincerely in hope that the amendment will be voted upon, not from the standpoint of the people of the United States, but in conformity with the preference of the Filipino women. [Applause.]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1914.

Government of the Non-Christian Tribes.

Mr. TOWNER, of Iowa, introduced the following amendment:

"SEC. 16a. That the provisions of this bill shall not be applied to the territory occupied by nor to the people known as the Moros or other non-Christian tribes. That such peoples and non-Christian tribes shall be allowed to maintain their tribal organization and government subject to the provisions of this section. That the government of the territory now occupied by the said Moros and other non-Christian tribes and of said peoples is hereby committed to a commission to be known as the Philippine Commission, to consist of three persons to be appointed by the President, by and with the approval of the Senate of the United States and the Governor General or Acting Governor General of the Philippines. That said three members so appointed shall receive a salary of \$5,000 each, and shall hold their offices for four years and until their successors are appointed and qualified. That said commission shall have such powers in general, except as modified by

existing conditions, as were granted to the commission appointed by the President of the United States by the order of April 7, 1900. That said commission shall have power to transfer from time to time such territory and peoples to the government and jurisdiction of the Philippine Government, as provided for in the preceding sections of this act, by and with the consent of the Philippine Legislature. That any tribe or people of such Moros or other non-Christian tribes, sufficient in number and of such contiguous residence as to constitute an entity capable of municipal organization which shall desire to be admitted to the jurisdiction of the Philippine Government established in preceding sections of this act, and who shall present a petition, signed by a majority of the males over 21 years of age of such tribe or entity, to that effect to the Philippine Legislature, may be admitted upon the acceptance of the transfer or jurisdiction by the Philippine Legislature and the approval of the President of the United States. The right to amend, modify, or repeal this section is hereby reserved to Congress without in any way affecting the other provisions of this act."

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I can not permit to pass unchallenged the statement just made on this floor by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] that there is hatred between the non-Christian Filipinos on the one hand and their Christian brethren on the other. The statement is not original. It has several times heretofore been circulated by well-known persons from one end of this country to the other, and has been accepted by many people in the very best of faith. Among these innocent victims of such falsehoods is doubtless the gentleman from Iowa. Such a statement should not be allowed to go further without the most energetic protest on the part of those who know the true state of affairs in their own country.

The Moros in times gone by have sometimes invaded certain of the small villages inhabited by Christian Filipinos. It is also true that until a few years ago there were a handful of savages in the Philippines, known as head-hunters, who occasionally decapitated some Christian Filipinos. But it is not true, indeed it is very wide of the mark, to say that such happenings as these prove that there is any particular hatred or antagonism between the Christian and non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines.

The lack of discrimination in forming opinions on Philippine issues shown by persons who habitually act otherwise on matters of personal moment to them is most astonishing. They seem to take at face value whatever they hear or read regardless of its soundness and without analyzing the motives that might have prompted erroneous statements.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Iowa is a very able lawyer, and if he would only apply to such information as he got regarding the supposed hatred between Christian and non-Christian Filipinos some of the common and rudimentary principles of evidence he would at once discover that such information is by no means plausible—indeed, is absolutely unreliable.

We are told, Mr. Chairman, that the Moros hate the Christian Filipinos; that they have emphatically reiterated that they would forcibly resist any attempt at a government of their territory by the latter; that they love the Americans, are happy under American rule, and are begging to be permitted to continue to live under that rule. What are the facts? The fact is that while it is true that the Moros have attacked and killed some Filipinos, it was long ago that they did so, while up to two years ago they had been in the habit of attacking and killing American soldiers. Why, Mr. Chairman, the number of

the American troops killed by the Moros in their resistance to American control exceeded by far the number of Filipinos that they even attempted to kill in past years, not to say of those they actually succeeded in killing. That Filipino heads have become a part of the trophies of the head-hunters in times gone by is undoubtedly a fact; but, unfortunately, Spanish and American heads have also been taken to make up these trophies. What is the conclusion—the only logical conclusion—to be derived from these premises? That the Christian Filipinos were never singled out as the most desired victims of warlike Moros and head-hunting pagans; that the Moro aversion to the Christian is a matter of religious fanaticism. It made no difference to these Mohammedans whether their victim was an American, a Spaniard, or a Filipino so long as he bore the mark of the cross. With the savages their head-hunting occupation was a part of their superstition, and the color of the head mattered not.

Mr. Chairman, the problem of governing the Moros and other non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines is by no means as serious a matter as the question of governing the Indians which Americans had to face in the early days of this Republic, and if the Christian Filipinos were given an opportunity to take care of their backward brothers they would demonstrate that the task did not even deserve to be termed a problem. In my opinion there is less ground for the suggestion that the non-Christian Filipinos be placed outside the control of the Philippine Legislature than there would be for the suggestion that the Indians of this country should be beyond the control of Congress, since there is more community of interest and race between the Christian and non-Christian Filipinos on the one hand than between the American Indians and the white Americans on the other.

Mr. Chairman, I am decidedly opposed to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa, and I should be against the passage of this bill if that amendment were to be adopted. For one thing, that amendment would retard the settlement of the so-called problem of the non-Christians.

I have already stated in my main speech on this bill that the plan of representation given to the inhabitants of the non-Christian tribes does not appeal to me; but that I have submitted to that proposal, because, after all, the number of the appointed members who are to represent the non-Christians is so small in comparison with the rest of the legislature that in practice the result will be that the whole of the Philippines will be under the control of the elected representatives of the Filipino people.

In support of the theory that there is a very deep antagonism between the Christian and the non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines there have been printed, Mr. Chairman, not only in newspapers and magazines, but also in Government publications, alleged speeches made by Moro chiefs on different occasions. I have also read—it was not my good fortune to be present at the time—the speech of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], delivered three months ago, informing this House of similar addresses presented to him during his recent visit in the islands by some important heads of pagan tribes and by prominent dattos among the Moros. It has

always been a puzzle to me to find all these speeches and addresses as good pieces of literature as the best of our orators upon the floor of this House could present. It was indeed too difficult for an ordinary intellect like mine to explain how uneducated people, some of them, in fact, thoroughly uncivilized, could match their oratorical qualities with highly educated men who made it their business to study and practice eloquence.

I have often wondered whether the hand that penned these speeches was, in every case, a gloved hand, and whether the translator—for they were translated into English in order that they might be understood by the addressee—was really making a speech of his own. Be that as it may, we have on our side reason and eloquent facts that tell the situation more convincingly than any words, certainly than all these speeches and addresses. To these facts I wish to call the attention of the committee, so that it may learn something besides the old theory regarding Philippine affairs.

The Moro Province is to-day governed by a civil governor. No longer is the Moro constantly watched by a man with a gun. A new law has been enacted since Gov. Harrison became Governor General of the Philippines for the administration of the affairs in the territory mainly inhabited by the Mohammedans. This change has taken place with the approval of the War Department, and the result demonstrates that the Moro lives peacefully under civil authorities and that the Moros can get along together with Christian Filipinos and can work hand in hand with them for their common welfare. The governor of the Moro Province, it must be said, is one of the ablest and most industrious American officials who ever landed on Philippine soil. If at all possible to govern the Moros through civil agencies, the man who has the qualifications to show its practicability is the man chosen by Gov. Gen. Harrison—Frank W. Carpenter.

Gov. Carpenter has been in full charge of the Department of Mindanao—that is the name given now to the old Moro Province, and it includes the territory in the island of Mindanao inhabited by pagaus—for fully 10 months, and during that time there has been no disorder nor have the Moros ever risen in arms against their government. Gov. Carpenter was given definite instructions by the Governor General as to the policies he should pursue in governing the Moro country. He was told to make that country as much a real part of the Philippine Islands as any other Province of the archipelago. That meant that good and friendly relations between the Mohammedan and Christian Filipinos should be fostered and that the Moros should be as early as possible given the same opportunities for education, sanitation, and material development as the inhabitants of other Provinces of the archipelago.

Gov. Carpenter, with that quickness of mind that is his peculiar gift, grasped at once the task he was called upon to discharge, and, with the energy and determination with which he always enters on his undertakings, he saw to it that the instructions of Gov. Harrison were at once put into effect. And so we now have in the Moro Province more schools, more roads, better sanitation, and more cultivated land than there ever was before.

A spectacle doubtless astonishing to men who believe as does the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] is likewise being

offered since the reorganization of the Moro Province. The provincial boards have been created in charge of the sub-Provinces, and they are composed of a Filipino as governor, a Mohammedan as third member, and an American as treasurer. How nearly true it is that the Moro hates to have anything to do with the Filipino, and how much he dislikes any other government but a strong, purely American-controlled government, we can judge from the address which the Moslem third member of the sub-Province of Zamboanga delivered on the inauguration of the provincial government, of which he is a member by appointment of Mr. Carpenter. I shall call the attention of the committee to this paragraph of that speech:

He who thinks that it is impossible for the Moslem and the Filipino to live together in peace and participate together in the government is foolish and lacks wisdom.

Can there be a more emphatic denial of the alleged hatred between Moros and Christian Filipinos than the foregoing statement? Mr. Chairman, a Christian Filipino and a Mohammedan are now working together in the government of their common Province, and this fact alone gives us the best evidence that the Moro and the Filipino not only can live together peacefully but can also cooperate in the interest of the public good.

With regard to the other non-Christian inhabitants of the archipelago I shall have very little to say. Even those who are most pessimistic as to the possibility of placing this people under the Philippine Government admit that in this case the difficulties are less than in the case of the Moros. I say without hesitation that there is no difficulty whatever in having these people governed by Christian Filipinos. Had a different policy been pursued by the former secretary of the interior in the management of the affairs of these people, they would have advanced more than they have thus far, and there would have been to-day a fully established intercommunication between them and the Christian Filipinos. The new secretary of the interior is, thank God, wise enough to see that the old policy was wrong and injurious, and his new policy is to promote the intermingling of these pagans with the Christian Filipinos. He has appointed a delegate whose paramount duty is to bring about this result. Less appropriation for so-called scientific researches and more for the education, sanitation, and means of communication of this people is the watchword of Secretary Winfred T. Denison. In connection with this remark I wish to insert in the RECORD a quotation from an address delivered by Secretary Denison before the Manila City Club, as follows:

To be concrete: Within the last few days the question has come to me whether I would authorize the expenditure of P500, more or less, for the photographing of mollusks.

Now, it happens that I have just returned from the Mountain Province, where I found a deep necessity and a great demand for school-teachers and no money to provide them. I had this choice: Should I spend P500 for photographing these mollusks, or should I spend it for a school-teacher? I could pay the whole share of the Insular Government in another teacher for the cost of these photographs. I am not unaware that the world outside of the Philippines may possibly prefer the photographs of the mollusks to teachers in the Mountain Province, but can there be any doubt in the mind of anyone that my duty is to spend that money for the interest of the Philippines, rather than to further what may be considered the interest of the scientific world at large?

This is a type of the questions which are constantly arising. It is an extreme one, and one that is unusually ridiculous, but nevertheless it serves to make the point.

Every requisition for expenditure involves a choice of the purpose proposed as against all other possible purposes, and it behooves an alien administrator to have a care lest he gives the hobbies of his own nation priority over the interest of the people whose money he is spending.

A similar thing happened in the first month I was here. I had been to Palawan, and had found there 40,000 people without a doctor. This gave me a shock which I shall never forget, and which has not been minimized by my having subsequently found the same thing on a still larger scale in the Mountain Province. I had visited the Moros in the southern end of Palawan, and had found them eager for a school-teacher—even grown men petitioning for leave themselves to go to school. I had been to the Cullion leper colony, and had received the petitions of those 6 sisters of St. Paul de Chatres who were doing all the nursing for 250 hospital patients and caring for the whole out-patient and dispensary service besides; and they had asked for 2 more nurses and P50 a month for extra delicacies for the more desperate among their cases.

With these things in my mind I returned to Manila; and there the very first thing that came to me was an application for leave to spend P14,000 for printing the results of ethnological research into the habits of the Bukidnons and other non-Christian tribes, and I said to myself: Is it for the interest of the Filipino people that these manuscripts should be printed at such a cost, rather than that school-teachers and doctors should be sent to Palawan and more help to those weary sisters of St. Paul de Chatres and the lepers in their care?

Is it for the interest of the Filipino people to make such researches and to print their results in order to inform the American people and the outside scientific world about the ways and habits of the Bukidnons, rather than to send school-teachers to teach the Bukidnons the ways of the outside world?

It was urged that these expenses for printing were a mere bagatelle compared with the cost of collecting the information, and that it was a pity to lose the results of these researches for a sum so small when compared with the vast total of cost already incurred in collecting the information.

But for P14,000 I could either cover the Mountain Province with school-teachers or cover Palawan with doctors or fill Cullion with nurses, while the outside world, if it finds itself in peremptory need of this knowledge, may possibly be able to find the money somewhere except in the pockets of the Filipino people.

Then it was urged that the administrative officers of the Mountain Province, the governor, the lieutenant governors, and all the Americans who have to deal with those people up there, needed these researches to guide them in their work. That might possibly, to my mind, be a justification for the expense, so I set that question aside until I could visit the Province, and then I asked everyone of these officers the question, and I found that not one of them had ever made any practical use of any of these things. "Interesting," they said, "from the point of view of the advancement of the science of the world, but of no actual practical use to the Mountain Province."

The foregoing statement is very interesting, since it shows—at least by implication—what had been done before Secretary Denison's time, and was then heralded as the greatest thing a certain person ever did in his life!

Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope that the gentleman from Iowa will not press his amendment. The gentleman knows that the Philippine Commission under the present organic act has absolute control over the Moro and other non-Christian Provinces, and that since the appointment by the President of a majority of Filipinos on the commission those Provinces have been in effect governed by Christian Filipinos. Were it true that there was a dislike on the part of these Christian Filipinos for the Moros, it would have been plainly shown in the conduct of the present Philippine Commission; yet the fact is that although the revenues of the Philippine Islands have fallen off, and in spite of the absolute necessity for retrenchment, this Filipinized commission has appropriated more money than ever for the pagans, and has

given for the department of Mindanao and Sulu ₱225,000; for Agusan, ₱17,000; and for public works of general character to be carried out in these countries, ₱27,225. With these concrete facts I believe the gentleman must be convinced of the lack of foundation for what he heard or read about antagonism between the Christians and non-Christians. [Applause.]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1914.

The Successful Administration of Gov. Gen. Harrison.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I have just this moment received two cablegrams from the Philippines, the contents of which ought to fill every patriotic American with joy and pride. One year ago this month a new Governor General for the Philippine Islands arrived in Manila, and was there met with a very warm and enthusiastic reception by thousands upon thousands of Filipinos, many of whom came from the farthest corners of the archipelago. This Governor General was the Hon. Francis Burton Harrison, of New York, formerly a distinguished Member of this House and now the chief executive of the Philippine Islands. [Applause.] Arches, bands of music, waving flags, and fragrant flowers spoke of the good will and the high expectations of the people of the Philippines regarding their new Governor General. What was the meaning of this magnificent and unprecedented reception given to a foreign governor? Was it, perchance, that at last, the Filipino people had forsaken their desire to be the masters of their own destinies and were actually glad to receive a foreign ruler? No; the Filipino people were then as much as they had ever been—indeed, as much as they are to-day—united in their aspiration to have as their chief executive a man of their own kind and of their own free selection. But they had heard of Gov. Gen. Harrison before; they had read some of the remarks made by him upon this floor, when he was still a Member of this House, touching upon the Philippines, and they therefore believed that Gov. Harrison had accepted the governorship of the islands for no purpose other than that of helping the Filipino people to harvest the precious fruit of their patriotic endeavors as well as to do his own part in bringing about the early redemption of the pledge of his country to give the islands a free and independent government. So the Filipino people looked upon the incoming Governor General from the very moment they learned of his appointment not as their new ruler, but rather as their adviser, friend, and advocate. And so they received him with open arms and loving hearts.

The Filipino people have not been disappointed in Gov. Gen. Harrison. He has almost surpassed our expectations. During the year which has just elapsed since the day he landed on Philippine shores he has given us ample evidence that he is an able, efficient, sympathetic, and just executive and administrator; a sincere friend of ours, earnestly striving to promote our welfare and liberty. For this reason, upon the anniversary of the governor's arrival at Manila, there was a great public demonstration, equal to if not surpassing in its display of affectionate feeling the one given him upon his arrival.

I shall read, Mr. Chairman, these cablegrams I hold in my hand, for they will tell better than I could myself of what took place in Manila. One cablegram reads:

Over 50,000 Filipinos from every walk in life and irrespective of political affiliations marched to-day to Malacanang Palace to celebrate the first anniversary of the arrival of Gov. Harrison. A delegation from the people presented the governor with an album containing a signed resolution, requesting President Wilson to keep Mr. Harrison as Governor General until the Philippine policy of the President, as outlined in his message to the Filipino people, delivered through Gov. Harrison last year, has been carried out, and conveying to Gov. Harrison the confidence and faith of the Filipino people in their governor, as well as commending his untiring and successful efforts to carry out the President's policy. Gov. Harrison addressed the gathering briefly, as follows:

"Your presence in such great numbers does me honor far beyond my deserts, but more important still you once more display the good will and confidence of the people of the Philippines toward the people of the United States. Our people are your friends, and they are proud of your progress and your accomplishments. As the representative of the United States, I desire most earnestly to merit your continued friendship and cooperation. Both these you have already shown me in unmeasured terms.

"One year ago I delivered to you a message from President Wilson. He then authorized me to say, 'We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence.' To both of these principles I now reaffirm my unyielding allegiance. To both these principles I have adhered during this past year with unflinching determination. To both I shall continue to adhere. And in this determination you have rendered me your assistance in every way. With patience, with dignity, and with wisdom you have justified the words of President Wilson toward you. The year has been one in which Filipinos may well take pride—not only the few in office but the great mass of the people as well. In the future you will tread with ever-increasing powers of self-government the same path of moderation, of justice, and of progress. Let us continue to work together united and in harmony."

Another says that a committee, composed of representative Filipinos from every walk in life and of delegations from all the most important social associations in the Philippines, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the benefits of good laws and liberal constitution are only shared by the people through the faithful execution of these laws and the mandates of said constitution by executives jealous of the strict compliance of their duties; and

Whereas the Hon. Francis Burton Harrison, Governor General of the Philippine Islands, ever since his assumption of office has faithfully interpreted and executed not only the laws and the constitution of the Philippine Islands but also the policy of the President of the United States, as outlined in his message to the Filipino people and conveyed to them by said Gov. Gen. Harrison, so much so that he has brought to the public mind the conviction that there now exists in these islands a government that protects life and liberty and promotes prosperity alike to the natives and to the foreigners, the undersigned representing the people of Manila and neighboring Provinces—

Resolved, First, that a visit be paid to said Governor General, the Hon. Francis Burton Harrison, at Malacanang Palace at 4 p. m. on the 11th day of October, in order to give him a public and official testimony of the great satisfaction that the people of the Philippine Islands feel for his upright and wise administration.

Second, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly.

Third, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Resident Commissioners in the United States, with the request that they communicate the same to the Congress and to the President of the United States and state at the same time the ardent desire of the people of the Philippines that said Hon. Francis Burton Harrison remain as chief executive of these islands.

Fourth. That a copy of this resolution be presented to the Governor General, Francis Burton Harrison, written in an album and signed by the executive committee and other representative persons who may wish to do so.

Mr. Chairman, it is only natural that the Filipino people should thus feel toward their present Governor General. They owe it to him, since he has under the most difficult circumstances succeeded in giving them an efficient and very satisfactory government. The first anniversary of Mr. Harrison's administration shows a reduction in the expenses of the Philippine Government, as compared with the last six months of the preceding calendar year, of \$2,000,000 per annum, out of a total expenditure which had been in the past slightly less than \$15,000,000 per annum. Nearly one-half of this great saving had been effected in the expenses of bureaus and offices, and represented real economy in that it showed a reduction in the "overhead" cost of administering the affairs of the islands.

A portion of the governor's first message to the Philippine Legislature was devoted to a description of the financial difficulties which the insular government was facing upon his arrival. The saving effected, as I have already indicated, shows how great an effort and how much courage and determination were necessary to accomplish this great reduction in the expenses of the government. I shall not detain the House by reading this message, but the American people should be acquainted with it, and therefore I shall insert it in this part of my remarks. The message referred to is as follows:

ANNUAL MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the legislature, for the first time since the occupation of the Philippine Islands by the United States a Democratic administration assumed control of the United States Government upon the 4th of last March. Ten days ago, as the representative of that administration, I came to you as your chief executive bearing a message from President Woodrow Wilson. That message, indicating the policy of the President in respect to these islands, I have already delivered to the Philippine people in his name.

The President has promised that he will give immediately to the people of the Philippines, as the first step toward carrying out his policy, a majority of the appointive commission. This legislature will, therefore, for the first time have a majority of native citizens in both branches. In consequence the eyes of the American people will be upon this legislature with a confident expectation that it will furnish to the world a proof that you are capable of self-government and that it will measurably advance the day of independence.

You begin your labors at a time of profound peace throughout the islands. It is our duty to conserve it.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS.

Every legitimate business enterprise should and will receive the protection of the Insular Government. But we must bear in mind that business is intended to serve the Government, not the Government to serve business. The duty of government is to see that every business man receives an equal opportunity before the law, not that any business man should enjoy a special privilege.

The best service that a government can properly render to commercial enterprise is to restore confidence and to promote good feeling. If the new administration here shall be the instrument of bringing about a better understanding between the different elements of the community, it will be promoting the best interests of the business world. Good feeling between all classes of residents in the islands is the best asset of a business community. It should be our duty and it will be my constant preoccupation to leave nothing untried to bring about this happy result.

Before proceeding to a discussion of any other matter, I submit for your consideration a report recently made by the former secretary of the interior of this Government upon the subject of slavery.

DEFICIT DEMANDS ECONOMY.

My term of service in this Government has been short. I am not at this moment prepared to advise with you upon all subjects of public interest. At a future day I shall ask your indulgence to send to you other messages upon matters of public moment. For the present I direct your attention to one special subject in my judgment of paramount importance.

The most pressing need of the hour is economy in the public expenditures. This matter, in my opinion, is the most important question now affecting the success and welfare of this Government. Based upon the estimates of probable receipts and expenditures for the current fiscal year, as published by the auditor, it is probable that the Government, without the adoption of a drastic program of economy is face to face with a deficit of about four and a half million pesos.

From June 30, 1908, when the surplus in the insular treasury was ₱17,499,894.97, the surplus has fallen as of June 30, 1913, to ₱14,230,220.23. Of this sum, however, about ₱5,000,000 is only nominally available, it being invested in supplies and having been carried to the surplus account in 1911, thus leaving an actual cash surplus in hand at the conclusion of the last fiscal year of only about ₱9,000,000.

This shrinkage in the available surplus of the Government has come about notwithstanding the fact that during this period of four years the sum of ₱6,000,000 has been obtained by the sale of an issue of public works bonds, and expended out of the treasury, and notwithstanding the further fact that a little less than three and a half million pesos from the gold-standard fund has during this period passed through the treasury in the same way.

At the present rate the auditor on June 30, 1913, estimated that the current expenditures of this Government would exceed the income by about ₱2,000,000 in the course of the fiscal year. In this connection it is fair to say that the insular collector of customs, in making his estimate to the auditor, properly discounted the fact that owing to the limited importation of rice the custom revenues would fall, and they actually have fallen in the first two months about ₱1,600,000. It is also fair to state that the estimates made at the same time by the collector of internal revenue were probably exaggerated when he predicted an increase of about ₱1,000,000 in internal revenue; in any event it is certain that this expected increase has not only failed to materialize thus far, but that we are actually running behind the internal-revenue receipts of the preceding fiscal year in a sum which for the first three months has exceeded ₱100,000. This decrease may possibly be offset by the collection of the new income tax.

While it is possible that the income from customs may improve somewhat from the present date, approximately ₱3,000,000 may be figured as the probable deficit based upon the ordinary income and expenditure of the government for the present year. To this we must add the sum of ₱1,500,000 of which the treasury is to be deprived in the balance of the current year by the passage of the Underwood tariff bill, which removes the tax upon exports.

COMMENDS UNDERWOOD BILL.

Too much can not be said in commendation of the Underwood tariff bill in its relation to the Philippine Islands. Not only does this act remove the limitations imposed by the Payne law upon the amount of sugar, tobacco, and rice which may be exported free to the United States, but in removing the export tax upon such commodities as hemp, copra, and sugar a heavy burden of taxation is lifted from the shoulders of the farmers of the Philippine Islands, and an immediate increase in their prosperity is confidently expected as a result of this measure.

Our treasury is therefore obviously approaching a point where a deficit of ₱4,500,000 confronts us. How, then, shall we avoid this deficit and restore the finances of our government to a normal and self-supporting condition? In my judgment but one course is open to us. I can not offer to you the possibility of an issue of public bonds to recoup the treasury. However much justification might be found in the eyes of some for a bond issue for some work of great public importance, no argument can support, under any system of government, a bond issue to meet current expenses. Indeed, a bond issue to recoup a falling treasury is tantamount to a confession of bankruptcy. Even if we could hope to secure congressional action upon an application for such an issue of bonds we would be condemned in the eyes of other nations for a failure to manage our affairs here upon a sound and conservative basis.

I repeat, then, only one course lies before us, and that is economy of the most drastic kind. In considering the question of economy I

urge upon the members of the legislature that they approach this subject in a spirit of cooperation and self-sacrifice. It may be that for the time being partial cessation of some of the public works will be required, and this may bring temporary disappointment to certain localities in the islands, but it is my earnest hope and intention that as soon as the treasury can be restored to a sound basis, the public works shall go forward uninterrupted and with renewed zeal.

A considerable burden is also laid upon the treasury by the large proportion of American employees in this Government. While the enunciated policy has been to reduce this number as rapidly as possible consistent with the demands of fairness and efficiency, the last annual report of the bureau of civil service shows that there were more Americans having a permanent status in the Philippine civil service in 1912 than in any previous year since 1905. At the present time no further civil-service employees should be brought here from the United States to fill purely clerical positions, nor in any event except where special requirements may make such course necessary.

TOP-HEAVY BUREAUCRACY.

These islands have need of a simple and scientific form of government. Instead of that, we find a complicated and top-heavy system of bureaucracy. Much can be done toward simplifying this bureau form of government, and in this connection I invite your consideration to the possibility of a reduction in the number of the bureaus by consolidation or otherwise. It has also been suggested that some of the salaries of the higher Government officials are disproportionate to the size of the insular revenues. When you proceed to a discussion of this question, I strongly recommend to you that no change be in any event effected in the judicial salaries, nor in the salaries of employees who are receiving \$5,000 or less. We find, moreover, that as an incident to highly centralized bureaucratic government a number of offices have been created and salaries have been raised without, what seems to me to have been, due authority of law; and as further inevitable result of bureaucracy, here as elsewhere, too many offices now exist. You are invited to scrutinize the bureaus of this Government with an eye to economy in that respect.

A further and perhaps considerable saving might be effected by a change in our method of appropriations; good usage elsewhere commends to us a system of direct treasury appropriations.

In this connection it is my hope that previous differences of opinion between the two houses may now be removed. This legislature, which meets to-day, should proceed to its work with a determination that the two houses will act in harmony, and that the necessary supply bills of the Government may become law by the joint will of the legislature instead of through the individual fiat of the executive.

ON TRIAL.

The present financial condition of this treasury calls for action of the highest order of self-denial and patriotism on the part of this legislature. The President has promised you a majority in the upper house, so that you may have control of both branches of your legislature. In doing this he placed upon you the responsibility to show to the whole world your capacity to legislate. Here at the outset a severe trial is upon you. I call upon each member of this legislature to do his share in the work which I have outlined. I do this assured that in this first and perhaps most severe test to which your honorable body will be subjected you will prove entirely worthy of the confidence placed in you by the President of the United States.

Great and commendable as is the work done by Gov. Gen. Harrison in the direction I have described, it is not all nor is it the most important of his achievements within this short period of time. When he came to the islands the Filipino people were beginning to doubt their insular administrators. Ever since the beginning of the American administration, and in accord with the celebrated instructions of President McKinley, Governors General have been promising to place Filipinos in the appointive positions of that government as soon and as fast as they could show themselves capable of filling those positions. Yet in his report for 1903 Gov. Gen. Forbes, speaking of the bureau of civil service, said that the progress made in increasing the proportion of Filipino employees was not satisfactory. Gov. Gen. Harrison found that in 1912, as shown in the report of

the bureau of civil service for that year, there were more Americans having a permanent status in the Philippine service than in any previous year since 1905. Gov. Gen. Harrison came forward with the fearless purpose of redeeming the pledges of his predecessors as well as with that of carrying out the policies of the President and making his own desires effective. He therefore began to appoint Filipinos to responsible positions, and his early action on this score at once revived the declining faith of the people of the Philippine Islands in the protestations of the previous Governors General. Both the policy of economy and that of doing justice to the Filipino people provoked a storm of criticism on the part of the necessary victims of such a policy, and Gov. Gen. Harrison was accused of disorganizing the Philippine Government, of disregarding the civil-service rules, and of using the methods of the ward politician. An article purporting to be an interview with Gov. Gen. Harrison saw the light in a Honolulu newspaper. This was quoted and requoted and several times reprinted to show that Gov. Gen. Harrison was an ordinary politician, to be ranked with those who believe in and practice the spoils system in its most extreme form. One of the most notorious occasions on which use was made of this supposed interview was the citation of it by ex-Secretary Dean C. Worcester, formerly of the Philippine Government, in his book entitled "The Philippines—Past and Present," published after the Philippine Islands had been relieved of his authority. On page 377 of his book I quote the following:

While in Honolulu, en route to Manila, Mr. Harrison gave out an interview, which I am credibly informed he has since confirmed in substance. It contained the following statements:

"For years I have been of the minority in Congress, and have seen the Democrats kicked about, trampled upon, and otherwise manhandled by Republicans, so that I must confess it now gives me a saturnine pleasure to see the Democrats in a position to do the same thing to the Republicans."

His early official acts after arrival at Manila confirmed the belief that this was indeed the spirit in which he was facing the great responsibility which there confronted him.

It is beyond doubt or cavil that high ideals heretofore have prevailed in the Philippine civil service. Are they now to be substituted by the methods of the ward politician?

I do not know who was this "credible" informant of Mr. Worcester. But ever since he began his attack upon Gov. Gen. Harrison he has been disseminating so much of the same "credible information," which proved afterwards to be absolutely unreliable that it makes no difference who this particular informant is. I received a cablegram some time ago from Gov. Gen. Harrison in answer to one of inquiry from me positively denying that he had ever made such statements. I did not need to ask him (and I hope the Governor knew that I did not cable him for that purpose), in order to assure myself that he did not grant such an interview. I have the honor of knowing personally the motives that inspired Gov. Gen. Harrison in accepting the Governor Generalship of the Philippine Islands. I saw what he did following his assumption of office, and I was therefore fully aware that the alleged interview was a falsehood—the mere invention of an unscrupulous reporter. But I sent this cablegram to the Governor in order to be able to say that he positively and directly repudiated the interview.

The truth is that the methods of Gov. Gen. Harrison in matters of appointment are absolutely free not only from any justified charge but even from any appearance of justification that he has employed the methods of—in the words of Mr. Worcester—"a ward politician." Gov. Gen. Harrison has not given positions in the Philippine Government to personal friends. He has not brought with him relatives to do business in the islands or to engage in agriculture on lands rented or purchased from the Philippine Government, and this dignified conduct of the Governor is the more praiseworthy since he is the first Governor General of the islands, who was previously a Member of Congress, and had therefore many political friends, a circumstance which doubtless has on more than one occasion put to a test his integrity of character and devotion to duty. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The all-embracing activity of our Governor General made it possible for him not only to reduce the expenses of the Philippine Government, not only to relieve that government of unnecessary officials, not only to give to the Filipinos such posts as they should immediately have, but also to dispose of every question that required immediate attention and to inaugurate a successful system of government for the non-Christian tribes, which before his attempt had been looked to as sure to produce dreadful effects. Gov. Gen. Harrison has practically solved the so-called Moro problem. The Filipinos professing the Mohammedan religion and inhabiting the islands of Jolo and western and central parts of Mindanao have given continuous trouble to the American Government. They were never actually under the control of Spain, and it had been stated that said Filipinos who are called Moros could be governed only by a strong military force that must be composed primarily of Americans. There were suggestions that, in the words of an old saying, somewhat adapted, "The only good Moro is the dead Moro." At all events, it was most emphatically asserted that they could not be governed by a civil governor. In consultation with the War Department, Gov. Gen. Harrison substituted a civil for the military government of the Moro Province before he was two months in Manila, and to-day a new law has already been enacted that has reorganized the government of that country, with the result that there is to-day complete tranquillity and peace among these supposedly indomitable people; with the further result that there are more schools and better sanitation among them, and with the crowning result that twice as much land was under the plow on March 31, 1914, as there was when Gov. Carpenter, of the Moro Province, was inaugurated in November or December of last year. The other non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines have also been properly dealt with. It was the old policy to isolate them from the Christian Filipinos. There were indications that this was done with no very sane purpose. At any rate, it was a most unreasonable plan, sure to accomplish, whether so meant or not, the development in the Philippines of a people within another people, differing in ideas and customs with, if not antagonistic to, the latter. It retarded the development of the former by depriving them of intercommunication with their more advanced and civilized brethren. Gov. Gen. Harrison, in consultation and in accord with the able and industrious secretary of the interior,

Hon. Winfred T. Denison, has reversed that policy and has inaugurated a new one, by which contact between the Christians and non-Christians is brought about and a more intimate relation is created, while more attention is given to their education and to their health. The secretary of the interior, in his instructions to his delegate for the government of the non-Christians, said :

You shall endeavor to make yourself in good truth the unifier, tearing down as rapidly as possible the walls which have isolated the non-Christians from the Christians.

Gov. Gen. Harrison has not only merited the love of the Filipinos themselves, but the applause of his superiors—the Secretary of War and the President. Upon the passage of the first appropriation bill enacted by the Philippine Legislature, in accord with the suggestion of the Governor General in his message, to which I have before referred, the President sent him a cablegram expressing his appreciation for his successful administration, and the Secretary of War sent him the following message :

I congratulate you upon the passage for the first time in three years of a general appropriation bill and on the fact that the bill was passed unanimously by both houses. I have no doubt but that there were, as to a great many features, differences of opinion, but it is a source of satisfaction to the department that such differences were satisfactorily adjusted. Please extend to both houses of the Philippine Legislature my congratulations on this event and express to them my hope that this is but an indication of what may be expected in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I shall no longer detain the House with this topic, though I am sure, from the close attention with which the committee has heard me, that the Members are glad to hear of the wonderful accomplishments of a dear friend and once their colleague. I want to say only one other word, and I mean it for every American interested in the Philippine Islands. The Filipinos owe to Gov. Gen. Harrison a debt of gratitude that they can never pay. He has served them as faithfully as the most intelligent and patriotic of their own people or of their own selection could have done. He has served them disinterestedly, devotedly, and untiringly. May God grant that he remain at the head of our government, representing this great Nation there, until the day shall have arrived when the Filipino people may elect his successor. But Gov. Gen. Harrison has not only served, not even mainly served, the people of the Philippine Islands; he has also served his own people, the people of the United States. He has served them both in a practical way and in furthering their ideals of government. He has served them in a practical way because the policies of Gov. Gen. Harrison, his gentleness and justness in dealing with the Filipino people, have made the Filipinos better friends of the Americans. To-day the American employee, the American business man, is better liked and better helped by the Filipinos. He has served them in furthering the ideals of this Government, because, as the Governor General himself stated it in his speech at the banquet of welcome tendered him the night of his arrival in Manila, he was rendering the best service that he could render to his country by promoting the success of the aspirations of the Filipino people. These are his own words :

Standing here before this flag, to which I, in common with you, owe allegiance, and of which I am proud, I pledge to you that the best service that I can render to my country is to render service to the best aspirations of the people of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. Chairman, I entertain the hope that the day will sometime arrive when the arrival of Gov. Gen. Harrison in the Philippines will be celebrated as one of our national holidays. [Applause.]

In connection with my remarks, I wish to print the following interview given by the Secretary of War, which was published in the Christian Science Monitor, and also a short quotation from a very responsible newspaper in the United States, that may give the keynote to the attacks made upon Gov. Gen. Harrison:

Mr. Secretary, you were quoted the other day as saying that a good many misstatements were being printed about the situation in the Philippines, and that you would like the people to get information that is accurate and truthfully reveals conditions. I would like very much to have certain points cleared up.

Answer. I will be very pleased to give you any information you want about the Philippines.

Question. Has the criticism of the Harrison administration been unusually severe?

Answer. If you will look back through your files and that of other leading newspapers, you will find that it has not been, compared to the criticism which has met every change of the past in the islands. Every change or step taken by the American Government has been met with a great deal of criticism and much loose talk, and you will find that most of such statements were untrue and much of the criticism and condemnation without foundation in fact.

Question. This is interesting, Mr. Secretary, in view of the impression sought to be created that in the past all was fair sailing in the Philippines, and no breeze of adverse criticism had rippled the seas. May I ask what were the subjects of adverse criticism?

Answer. You will recall the bitter criticisms of the conduct of our Army in suppressing insurrection; the criticism that civil government was established too soon, while the "iron hand was still necessary to enduring peace"; that the civil government was extravagant and incompetent; that it favored a policy of exploitation ruinous to the natives and in the interest of a few Americans. These are but a few of the subjects which one recalls without the need of investigation and without looking up the records.

Question. I am told that the present criticisms are entitled to greater weight because of the fact that in the past the criticisms had their origin in America, while the present criticisms are an echo of the American press in the islands and are based on statements of persons fresh from the islands. Is that so?

Answer. It is true that the American press criticisms are but echoes of the American press in the islands and a repetition of statements made by those returning from the islands. It is not true that this was otherwise in the past.

The attack on Mr. Taft following his formulation of the motto: "The Philippines for the Filipinos," was most bitter in the American press of Manila. Mr. Taft was represented by that press to be the most unpopular American in the islands.

His reply to this criticism in his speech before the Union Reading College, Manila, P. I., on December 17, 1903, has given the record of this feeling at that time a permanent place in the history of the government of the islands. The speech would serve, with few changes, to reply to present critics, including Mr. Taft, Mr. Worcester, and others. The basis of present criticisms is identical and the source is the same.

Later, the criticisms of Gov. Forbes were quite as bitter in the Philippine-American press as in the United States, the only difference between the cases of Gov. Forbes and Mr. Taft being that the press differed in the Forbes controversy, while it was unanimous in abusing Mr. Taft.

Question. What do you think produces this spirit of attack, and why should this be so?

Answer. Well, for one reason, of course, any who have been displaced always make a lot of noise and get their friends interested in condemning those in authority. Furthermore, there is a unique situation out there in this: There are Americans in business there, and when changes are made in the heads of the Government they, of course, desire to establish some form of intimate relations; and very often when they find that they are not being consulted either as frequently or as intimately as they think they should be, they retaliate by unfounded con-

demnation and general damning of the new officials. Or where, as on one occasion in the past, there has been a feeling that the Governor General was too friendly with one section of the American public, the criticism was even greater.

Question. Has there been any unusual dismissals of American employees under the Harrison administration?

Answer. No; the number of dismissals has not been unusual. It has increased slightly, due to necessary retrenchment. The number, however, is not one-half of what it was in years like 1903 and 1904, nor so great as it was in 1905 and 1906, when there was an effort at retrenchment.

Question. What is there in the charge that the civil-service rules have been disregarded? How many Americans, all told, has Gov. Harrison taken out to the Philippines and put into positions there?

Answer. Not a single instance has been brought to my attention where it was charged that Gov. Harrison had disregarded civil-service rules. Fewer Americans have been taken to the islands during Gov. Gen. Harrison's administration than during any similar period in recent years.

Of Americans coming from the United States since his arrival he has appointed the collector of customs, one member of the municipal board of the city of Manila, and one member of the public utilities commission.

Question. What are the important positions to which the Governor General might, if he so desired, appoint his American political friends?

Answer. First, the chiefs of bureaus of the Government, of which there are about 22. Second, the judges of first instance in the islands, of which there are 36. All of these judicial positions have been filled by appointment since Gov. Harrison arrived in the islands. Third, miscellaneous appointments, such as the members of the municipal board of the city of Manila, governor of the department of Mindanao and Sulu, and members of the public utilities commission.

Question. Now, Mr. Secretary, in how many of these has the Governor actually appointed Americans brought by him from the United States?

Answer. Of the heads of the bureaus of the Philippine Government Gov. Harrison appointed one—the collector of customs—from the United States—Dr. Herstein. Dr. Herstein had been an employee of the United States civil service for some years. He was a tariff expert employed in the framing of the recent United States tariff. His politics are not known to me.

He appointed, as a member of the municipal board of the city of Manila, Dr. Fitzsimmons, who had served in the islands formerly.

He appointed, as a member of the public utilities commission, Stephen Bonsal, a well-known American newspaper and literary man.

He reappointed every judge of first instance on the bench, and in filling the remaining vacancies he selected two Americans, one of whom had been long in the service of the islands and one who had been in the islands only a short time in the civil service, but had previously been in the civil service of the United States.

Question. What basis is there for the statement that business is disorganized in the islands and that the economic conditions are upset?

Answer. About as much basis as there is for such a statement with reference to the United States. It is perfectly well known to anyone who is searching for the truth that there has been a world-wide business depression, and that while in particular communities this depression may have been enhanced or mitigated by local conditions, this has only been in the matter of degree. In the Philippines, due to the exclusively agricultural basis of business, this depression has been least. Unquestionably, some business men wished to know the course that this administration purposed to pursue before they embarked in any extension of their business enterprises. But to suggest seriously that there has been any panicky condition produced in the Philippines by anything that this Government has done or left undone is simply to state that which has not the basis of truth.

Question. But it has been said that there has been an immense falling in the imports into the islands, showing a lack of confidence in business conditions?

Answer. That the imports into the Philippines are, when analyzed, an indication of business conditions and confidence, or the lack thereof, is to an extent true.

However, one of the imports which varies most from year to year is rice. The importation of rice in large quantities is an indication of the failure of the local rice crop and, contrary to the general rule, its importation in large quantities is an indication rather of local distress than of a healthy condition.

The fiscal year 1912, i. e., the year ending June 30, 1912, was, measured by the total of imports, the most prosperous year up to that time in the history of the Philippines. The total imports were \$54,549,980. But the dark spot was that of this total \$10,519,949 was rice, the result of an unusually disastrous failure of the Philippine rice crop.

In the fiscal year 1913 the total imports showed an increase over the preceding year to \$56,327,583, though the imports of rice were but \$7,940,857.

The reports of Philippine commerce have now been received to include the month of May, 1914. I give the following from the records for purposes of comparison:

Total imports for 11 months ending May, 1912-----	\$48,522,580
Total imports for 11 months ending May, 1913-----	51,543,134
Total for 11 months ending May, 1914-----	50,876,025

For the same periods, omitting rice:

1912-----	\$39,731,895
1913-----	43,825,329
1914-----	48,395,180

Of the total during these three periods there were from the United States:

1912-----	\$18,560,805
1913-----	23,130,695
1914-----	25,752,233

In the face of this it is idle to talk of depression or lack of confidence.

Question. As a matter of fact, has the administration taken any radical step of any kind in the Philippines; and if so, what; and what effect do you think this has had?

Answer. As a matter of fact, the administration has not only taken no radical step, but has not done anything except to in good faith pursue the policy which has been announced to the Filipinos from the very beginning. All of the American Governors have promised them to put them into governmental positions just as soon as they were capable of performing the duties; that is, to bring about the so-called Filipinization of the service. You will find references and promises of this character in the reports and public utterances of every Governor General.

President Taft, when chairman of the Philippine Commission, and afterwards when Civil Governor, inaugurated this treatment of the Filipinos pursuant to specific instructions of President McKinley. In doing this he met with just the same storm of abuse which is now revived against Harrison. I have just recently seen a speech made by him in which he alludes at great length to this matter in vindication of his position. Referring to the invitation to make the address, Mr. Taft then said:

"The civil government was just then receiving even more criticism than usual from the young lions of the Manila press."

Later he says:

"Some of our young lions of the local press have spoken of the 'childish slogan: The Philippines for the Filipinos.' It is unnecessary to comment on the adjective used, but it is sufficient to say that, whether childish or not, the principle makes up the web and the woof of the policy of the United States with respect to those islands, as it has been authoritatively declared by two Presidents of the United States—for President Roosevelt has followed sedulously the policy of President McKinley—and by the interpretation of the supreme popular will, the Congress of the United States."

And again:

"There are many Americans in these islands, possibly a majority—and this includes all the American press—who are strongly opposed to the doctrine of 'the Philippines for the Filipinos.' They have no patience with the policy of attraction, no patience with attempts to conciliate the Filipino people, no patience with the introduction into the government as rapidly as their fitness justifies of the prominent Filipinos. They resent everything in the government that is not American. They insist that there is a necessity for a firm government here rather than a popular one, and that the welfare of Americans and American trade should be regarded as paramount."

And with reference to the then attitude of the American press and merchants of the city of Manila, he said:

"The attitude of the American press and of the American merchant in his hostility to the Filipino, and in the consequent hostility to the civil government, was led into the error at one time of emphasizing in every possible way, by letters and representations of all sorts, that the

condition of the country as to tranquillity was so bad that the whole of the islands was still in a state of war. Every small ladrone fight, every discomfiture which the constabulary suffered, was exaggerated and made the basis for inference that the conditions in the country were retrograding rather than improving. Such incidents were seized upon and made as much of as headlines and general statements could make them."

And with reference to its attitude toward the Filipino, he said:

"When one's feelings of enmity are very much aroused it is difficult to set the limit to the expression of them. So it is that we have the young lions of the American press, of the three newspapers who are supposed to speak the American public opinion in these islands, holding the Filipino up to contempt, exposing all his supposed vices, and giving him no credit whatever for any virtues, and it may be that this represents the feeling of the majority of the resident Americans in Manila. But can we not, in the end, be just and give to the whole Filipino people their due? Should we wish the Filipino people to judge of Americans by the drunken, truculent American loafers who infest the small towns of these islands, living on the fruits of the labor of Filipino women, and give us more trouble than any other element in the islands? Should we wish the Filipino people to judge American standards of honesty by reading the humiliating list of American official and unofficial defaulters in these islands? I think not."

After reviewing the reiterated promises of the American Government in the islands and of the Presidents of the United States to look solely to the welfare of the Philippine Islands, Mr. Taft said again:

"Again, one of the conditions indispensable to progress is tranquillity. Without it capital, constitutionally timid, will not come. Now what has produced the present tranquillity? I say without hesitation that the chief element to-day is the confidence which the conservative people of the islands have in the promises of the United States to make the welfare of the Filipinos its chief purpose in remaining here and to assist them sincerely in learning the secret of self-government by gradually enlarging their political power."

And then:

"How long is it thought we could avail ourselves of this popular support if we repudiated our national promises and adopted the policy of repulsion and repression, dignified under the name 'the policy of a firm hand,' and if we said to the people, 'You are not to be trusted; the offices must all go to Americans; you are an inferior race and are sufficiently rewarded by having a superior race to come here and run your government for you?'"

And, finally, with reference to the policy of the American Government, he said:

"What do the young lions of the American press in Manila, what do the merchants of Manila who take the position I have attempted to explain and describe, expect to do? Do they expect to change the policy of the Government? Certainly not, as long as the Government of the United States is alive to the honor of preserving sacred its promises to a whole people. From where do they expect the political support that can be effective to carry out the policy which their attitude indicates? The policy of the present civil government in placing as its first aim the promotion of the welfare and the prosperity of the Filipino people and the gradual extension to them of self-government is the identical policy of the Republican Party as shown in its platform of 1900."

Question. To what do you attribute this apparent purpose of misleading the American public about the real situation?

Answer. Very largely to those who were fearful of some radical action on the part of the administration, which they thought would be disastrous to their own interests and to those who, not swayed by self-interest, feared that such action would be detrimental to the best interests of the islands and this country. That is to say, the fear that, without sufficient investigation and without careful consideration, this administration would cut all bonds between this country and the Philippine Islands and leave them to start as a national entity without any further guidance and control. If they had taken counsel of facts and not of their fears, they would not have started upon any such campaign. I do not think I am mistaken in believing that those who were the leaders in this clamor against Gov. Harrison would now, in view of all the facts, gladly destroy the record which they have made for themselves. Unfortunately many who have accepted these statements as facts have not the same means of ascertaining the truth, and now accept as facts what these leaders proclaimed from their fears and now have not the courage to deny.

Question. Mr. Secretary, what has been the policy of this administration toward the Philippines?

Answer. President Wilson plainly marked out our attitude toward the Philippines upon two occasions: First, when he authorized Gov. Harrison in his inaugural address to make the following statement:

"We regard ourselves as trustees, acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for their independence; and we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next. The administration will take one step at once. It will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the appointive commission, and thus in the upper as well as in the lower house of the legislature. It will do this in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will thereby be given in the action of the commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens who have already come forward to represent and lead their people in affairs."

Second, in his next annual message to Congress, in which he said as follows:

"No doubt we shall successfully enough bind Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands to ourselves by ties of justice and interest and affection, but the performance of our duty toward the Philippines is a more difficult and debatable matter. We can satisfy the obligations of generous justice toward the people of Porto Rico by giving them the ample and familiar rights and privileges accorded our own citizens in our own Territories and our obligations toward the people of Hawaii by perfecting the provisions for self-government already granted them, but in the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid.

"Acting under the authority conferred upon the President by Congress, I have already accorded the people of the islands a majority in both houses of their legislative body by appointing five instead of four native citizens to the membership of the commission. I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; that we should more and more put under the control of the native citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control. At last, I hope and believe, we are beginning to gain the confidence of the Filipino peoples. By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision. Let us once find the path and set out with firm and competent tread upon it, and we shall not wander from it or linger upon it."

Since it is the conceded fact that from the very beginning the American people, speaking through their representatives, have always disclaimed any intention to incorporate the Philippines as part of the American body politic, and since it has always been treated as only a question of time when they should have some form of national autonomy, the real matter to be considered by statesmen and by citizens who wish to do what is right is how to proceed in the matter so as to reach a just conclusion. This administration has proceeded along the line of experience, which, as the old adage tells us, is the best school; I think I would say practically the only useful school. The experiment which we made initially, as outlined in the quoted declaration of the President, has not only not proven unwise, but has proven very wise.

The next step to be taken, as provided in the pending Jones bill, is to give them further autonomous power; that is, to give them more participation in managing their own affairs, with, however, such reservations of guidance and control to the Federal Government as to enable it to see that no harm comes.

Question. What, in your judgment, will likely be the effect of this measure, if enacted into law, upon the Filipinos?

Answer. I can not see how it can be other than very favorable. The Filipinos who have sufficient knowledge and ability to deal with

the subject realize that until they demonstrate their ability to operate successfully a government in all of its manifold and complexing aspects it would be unthinkable that the United States would be justified in withdrawing from its position of trusteeship. The only way in which they can demonstrate their capacity is after trial. Any body of citizenship which has not been accustomed to exercising governmental functions must become accustomed thereto before it can successfully do so. It is known historically that the Philippine people for centuries have not been governing themselves. It is not to be wondered at that they can not immediately evoke the public opinion which is necessary to all successful self-governments. The coherent and cohesive aggregation of public opinion is the result of training; and those who have the best interests of the Filipinos at heart, both natives and those of our country, realize that they must be given the opportunity to cultivate and cause to grow up the necessary patriotic cooperation before they can have a successful self-controlled government. What we have in view is to make the conditions favorable for the growth of that sort of patriotic cooperation, the linking together of these nationals, with a view of eventually finding in that country such a condition as makes likely the success of self-government.

We have done that which we think was wise and conservative and thoughtful to take the next step in laying the groundwork for this hoped-for eventful condition.

[From the St. Louis Mirror, Dec. 12, 1913.]

Gov. Gen. Harrison is evidently trying to find out things from Filipinos, not from bureaucrats who have been living on the people. This is in line with the policy of giving Filipinos a majority in the important offices. The job holders don't like it. They can't bear to see the Governor General mixing up with the natives, who may tell him things about the secret government by concessionaires. Mr. Harrison has an idea, evidently, that government of the Philippines must be for the Filipinos and not exclusively for Yankee job holders and promoters. How extraordinary! No wonder Mr. Harrison has the disloyalty of the old-timers—better say "the old gang." They don't like this demonstration of the meaning of the New Freedom, which is also the old freedom.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1914.

Confirmation of Appointments.

Mr. TOWNER, of Iowa, introduced the following amendment:

"Amend, page 17, lines 23 and 24, by striking out the words 'by and with the consent of the Philippine Senate.'"

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I am earnestly opposed to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER].

In my general discussion of the pending bill I have already touched upon the question he raises, so that I need now merely call the attention of the committee to two new points.

It seems to me, first of all, that the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa is not in accord with the theory upon which this bill is framed. The bill is supposedly enacted for the purpose of giving the people of the Philippine Islands a sufficient opportunity to demonstrate their capacity for self-government to such an extent as is possible without placing the international relations of the United States in jeopardy. Much as the two sides of this House disagree with regard to Philippine independence, there has been little difference as to the desirability of offering the Filipino people such opportunity, in so far as I have been able to perceive from the remarks that have been made during the debate. Such being the case, the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa ought to be voted down, because it is subversive of the very purpose of the bill. By granting the people of the Philippines legislative

powers alone you fail to give them all the opportunities whereby their political capacity might be tested. To legislate is doubtless an important, perhaps the most important, function of a government, but the administration of law is also an essential part of the governmental process. Unless the Filipino people be permitted to show what they can do in the administration of their laws, such evidence as they may furnish through their legislative acts regarding their capacity for self-government will be challenged as insufficient. By requiring that the appointments of the Governor General be confirmed by the senate you give the Filipino people an opportunity to show their judgment regarding the proper administration of their laws.

It would be an inconsistent position to give the Filipino people the power to legislate for themselves, thereby assuming that they will legislate for their own interests and in that of their government, and on the other hand deny them the right to confirm executive appointments on the assumption, as seems to be suggested by the gentleman from Iowa, that they will use that power for selfish or partisan purposes rather than with a view to the exigencies of the public service. If elected senators can not be trusted with the power of confirming appointments made by the Governor General—if they be expected to use that power unpatriotically—an elected Filipino legislature should not be established at all. Legislative powers are greater, more embracing, than the power to confirm appointments, and the injury to the community in case of abuse of legislative power is by far greater than the evils arising from an unwise exercise of the power of confirming appointments. If the Philippine Senate be not permitted to say who may not occupy the positions created by the Philippine Legislature, the latter body should have neither the power to create these positions nor to abolish them.

Mr. Chairman, the worst feature of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Iowa is that it will assuredly prevent the harmonious operation of the government which you are planning to establish in the Philippine Islands. The Filipinos do not differ from other people. They are of the same flesh and bone and spirit, and they will act exactly as other people would act under the same circumstances, and for the same reasons. The history of the world teaches us that whenever governmental powers are not voluntarily granted to a people, and whenever such power can be obtained through some indirect means the people will not fail to use such means. If you deny the Filipino people the power to say lawfully who may not hold office under the Philippine Government, if they can find some way under this act whereby they will be able to make their voice effective on that score, they will do so. They may seek to do either of these two things: They may try either to exercise some personal influence with the Governor General to secure the appointment of those officials whom they desire, or if the Governor General refuse to accede to their wish, they may antagonize and obstruct his administration, and openly defy him by abolishing such positions as are occupied by officials objectionable to them. Thus you would create at once a cause of trouble between the Governor General and the legislature. I do not care to deny that Filipino senators might at times refuse to confirm an

appointment. Such a thing has happened in this country. The result there, however, would ordinarily be just what it has been here—the senate would confirm the appointments of the Governor General as a matter of course, and the readiness of the senate to confirm these appointments would depend, as it does here, upon the wisdom of the appointments. [Applause.]

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1914.

Salary of the Governor General.

Mr. MILLER offered the following amendment:

“Strike out the figures ‘\$18,000,’ in line 20, page 24, and after the word ‘General’ insert the following: ‘Not less than \$18,000, the amount to be fixed by the Philippine Legislature.’”

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, both the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES] and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] have said so much as to what they believed to be the position of the Filipino people and of myself with reference to the salary of the Governor General that I think it is time for me to say something myself on the subject.

Mr. Chairman, I do think that the salary of the Governor General of the Philippine Islands should be higher than it is now, and even higher than it was before that salary was reduced by the legislature. When the President of the United States was about to appoint the Governor General of the Philippine Islands I found that his concern was to find a man who was not only qualified, but also had enough private means to defray the expenses of his position, because the President was informed that the salary of the Governor General was such as to prevent the appointment of any but a rich man. I felt that we should pay the Governor General a salary high enough to permit the President to make his choice from the best men to be found for the appointment regardless of whether they be rich or poor. Thank God, the President was able to find a man who, besides possessing wealth, had ability, character, and real desire to serve the Filipinos. Otherwise I do not know what would have happened to us. We were more than fortunate when the President found Francis Burton Harrison, a man who had ability, character, and patriotism. [Applause.]

Of course I spoke of my experience to the speaker of the assembly, and he agreed with me that the Governor General should be given a higher salary. Apart from this consideration, however, it is a fact known to those who are familiar with the social obligations incumbent upon the Governor General that it is very expensive to fulfill the social requirements of that position. But let not the idea enter your minds that we favor such a salary for the Governor General because of our extravagant tendencies. Mr. Chairman, I wish to inform the committee—and this information is precisely pertinent to the question asked by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND]—that the people of the Philippine Islands have expressed through the assembly their disapproval of some of the very high salaries paid to many of the officials of the Philippine Government. I refer particularly to the secretaries of departments, who, as commissioners and secretaries, receive

a total of \$15,500 annually. The assembly has on several occasions during the past administrations tried in vain to reduce the salaries of these officials.

Mr. BORLAND. Did I understand the gentleman to say that that was too high?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; entirely too high.

Mr. BORLAND. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. QUEZON. We think that it is absolutely indefensible for the members of the cabinet of the Governor General to be paid \$15,500 when the members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States only receive \$12,000 a year.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to reiterate what I said yesterday about Gov. Gen. Harrison's attitude regarding the question of his salary. The legislature would not reduce it when it reduced the salary of every other officer of the Philippine Government, but the Governor General himself thought that it should be done, since other salaries were reduced, and only in deference to his personal appeal was the reduction made.

Mr. Chairman, I shall be frank enough to say that while I believe the salary of the Governor General is not at all sufficient unless he is given a certain amount as allowance for entertainment, I am not at all sure but that the salaries of the members of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands as provided for in this bill could be somewhat reduced. But I shall not ask that this be done. I wish only to make the point that there is no due proportion between the salary of the Governor General on the one hand and the members of his cabinet and the justices of the supreme court on the other.

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1914.

The Pledge of Independence.

Mr. JONES. Now, Mr. Chairman, the next thing is to return to the preamble, as I understand the ruling of the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the preamble.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, it would be foolish, were it not so pathetic, to say, as does the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY], who preceded me on the floor, that the Filipino people do not want independence to-day and that they would not even desire it in the future when they really become capable of self-government. That, however, is not a new statement. It has been heard before now in every country and it

has been availed of by every tyrant. No ruler can ever be made by any evidence to believe that his subjects want to be free from his yoke. The speech of the gentleman from Washington has been delivered before in more or less the same words in the House of Commons in England at the time when his ancestors were struggling to be independent from the yoke of the British lawmakers. It was then asserted that the American colonies did not want independence; that they were merely led, as the Filipino people are now said to be, astray by unscrupulous, selfish politicians, who were wont to exploit and enslave their own people. Why, Mr. Chairman, how any man can say that the Filipino people, having defied, because they wanted to be independent, the greatest and most powerful Republic upon this earth, knowing when they did so that they would unavoidably be crushed in that unequal struggle, do not now want to be free is beyond my comprehension. Is the committee unaware that thousands upon thousands of men drawn from all walks of life died in that destructive war while their wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters were urging the survivors to take the place of the fallen, until the whole nation came very near being annihilated? Does the gentleman from Washington believe that that war was a joke, and that we went into it as a matter of amusement? How can he say that Filipinos will not want independence when they are capable of self-government? What an amazing theory! Yet it seems to be believed in and proclaimed by many statesmen as almost self-evidently true. If people do not want independence when they become capable of self-government, it must follow that no independent nation is capable of self-government. Indeed, I am almost inclined to accept that idea, and so to agree with the view of the gentleman from Washington, when I see some of the most enlightened nations engaged in war, each killing the citizens of the other by scores of thousands, and each destroying wealth belonging to the others, thereby inflicting upon humankind more injury during a few months of their gigantic struggle than all the harm and destruction that the so-called incapable countries, with their petty revolutions, could cause in a century. But, Mr. Chairman, I shall not detain the committee in the closing hour of this debate by entering upon discussions of this sort. The arguments which proceed from such premises as those I have cited are outworn, obsolete, and completely out of date. Every boy in school knows how to answer them. I shall, in discussing the preamble of this bill, address myself exclusively to the views expressed by the distinguished leader of the minority, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois takes the position that the preamble of this bill should be voted down, and that the legislative provisions of this bill should be amended so as to give the people of the Philippine Islands a government still more autonomous than is provided for in the bill. The gentleman's opposition to the preamble is placed squarely on the ground that the United States should forever retain the Philippine Islands, because such retention will provide this country with an important resource in a supposedly forthcoming struggle—commercial and perhaps military and naval—between the East and the West, while such retention would also prove beneficial to the Filipino people themselves. The gentleman is

convinced that with the granting of such an autonomous government as he suggests the Filipino people will grow more friendly to the United States and will be content to remain under American control.

Mr. Chairman, opposition to the preamble based upon the considerations stated by the gentleman from Illinois is worthy of serious attention and deserves to be met on its own ground. Let me say, before I reply to the gentleman from Illinois, that I have been particularly pleased with his remarks. His views and mine are, of course, widely and completely apart; but I give him credit, and I feel under obligation to him for not following the old line of insincere argumentation that has heretofore caused such shame and anger in the minds of the Filipino people, and that starts with the assumption that we are wholly incapable of governing ourselves or that we are an unpatriotic people, whose favored classes are eagerly watching for and taking advantage of every opportunity to abuse, mistreat, and exploit our fellow citizens, so that we must be ruled by more intelligent and more public-spirited foreigners. I am grateful to the gentleman from Illinois for his candor and openness, and I am sure my people join me in the sentiment. I know that his remarks will not be indorsed by a single Filipino; but, on the other hand, they will certainly not be resented by my countrymen. It was a businesslike presentation, composed of great thoughts elegantly clothed with apt expressions—this speech of the gentleman from Illinois. Yet I fear that the basic premise of his position is false, and that therefore the whole structure of his Philippine policy must fail to endure the test of time and of past experience.

I have noticed, Mr. Chairman, that, comprehensive as the speech of the gentleman from Illinois was, he failed to discuss—indeed, he apparently never gave a thought to—the one question which must be answered before his views can be accepted by analytical minds. That question is this: What would the United States do should the Filipino people, after they have been granted autonomy—complete domestic autonomy, if you please—still demand independence? Would the United States still insist, in such a case, upon keeping the islands, against the will of their inhabitants, under the sovereignty of this Nation? Would the United States, if necessary, resort to force to compel the Filipino people, under those circumstances, to continue subject to the American flag? Would the retention of the Philippines under such circumstances be an aid to the United States in such a forthcoming struggle as is predicted by the gentleman? The gentleman from Illinois did not deem it necessary to ask himself this question, because he took it for granted, as he stated it on this floor, that after you have given the people of the Philippine Islands complete autonomy, larger and greater autonomy than this bill confers, as he would gladly have you do, the Filipino people would become your good friends and would therefore no longer desire independence.

Mr. Chairman, I do not doubt, in fact I am sure, that the Filipino people will become your friends, your very good friends, after this bill is enacted. They would, however, be still more friendly to you if a measure providing for more autonomy, such as the gentleman from Illinois has suggested, should be passed.

But I fear that the gentleman from Illinois is mistaken when he thinks that the Filipino people after the enactment of such a bill would prefer to remain forever a self-governing colony of this country. The gentleman seems to forget that the enjoyment of liberty makes people crave for more liberty still, and that the progress of nations toward freedom when once the first step has been taken does not cease until complete sovereignty has been attained. I do not pretend to be a prophet or even a statesman, and I shall not ask that my prediction—which after all is but a prediction that, like others, may prove to be mistaken—I shall not ask that my prediction, be given more weight than the prediction to the contrary which has been offered by the gentleman from Illinois. Of one thing, however, I am sure, as sure as I am that I am alive and standing upon this floor now. That is, that if the Filipino people should ever surrender their ardent desire to be free from the United States, it would not be after the enactment of the bill that the gentleman from Illinois proposes and the defeat of the preamble of this bill as he suggests. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois makes the realization of his hope an impossibility when he asks that the preamble of this bill be voted down—that preamble which confirms through a congressional declaration the promises heretofore made by the Executives of this Nation and by other representative American statesmen. If you defeat this preamble, in spite of the existence of such an autonomous government as you may confer upon the Filipino people, you will not make them your friends. If you defeat this preamble you will thereby at once lose the confidence of the people of the Philippines, and perhaps even their respect. Friendship and respect can exist among nations as among men only when the conduct of those who have entered into relations with one another is free from all suggestion of bad faith. The breaking of a promise, the disregard of past pledges, is a sure cause of distrust and of disrespect.

Mr. Chairman, again and again the people of the Philippine Islands since the first American commander landed at the city of Manila have been told by the representatives of this Government in those islands that the United States was in the Philippines for the sole purpose of helping the Filipinos to establish the foundations of their independent national life. Those promises have been reiterated by the Chief Executives of this Nation in their messages both to the Filipino people and to the American Congress. Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Wilson in official documents that are recorded in the archives of this Government have each and all made such declarations. The Filipino people have taken the words of those officials at face value, regarding them as the words of the American people themselves, whom the Presidents I have enumerated represented when they made these declarations. To-day the American Congress is asked not to ratify but to repudiate those words and those declarations. And on what ground? On the ground that you need the aid of the Philippines that you may emerge victorious from a supposedly forthcoming conflict—commercial or armed—for the control of the Pacific. What effect, Mr. Chairman, would the action of this Congress exert upon the Filipinos should the advice of the gentleman from Illinois be heeded? The Filipino people would at once take the defeat of the pre-

amble of the bill as a convincing proof that this Nation would repudiate the promises it early made whenever it might be to her interest to do so. After such a repudiation had occurred, how could any man ever expect the Filipino people again to have confidence in the American Nation? What would be the advantage to be gained by the enactment of a law establishing an autonomous government in the Philippine Islands if the Filipino people could not feel secure in the free and everlasting enjoyment of that autonomy, or if they must forever fear that, inasmuch as you repudiated your promise of independence made when you did not think the Philippines a commercial or strategic asset but changed your opinion on this subject when conditions made it convenient, you might in like manner establish another kind of government whenever you thought it best for your purposes to do so? Ah, Mr. Chairman, without confidence, without faith, always fearful of what might happen in the future, how could anyone expect the Filipino people to be contented and so ask it to remain under the American flag?

There is another consideration so obvious that I note with surprise that so learned a student of human nature as is the gentleman from Illinois could have forgotten or overlooked it. Does the gentleman forget that the one fact whose invariable truth has been repeatedly demonstrated since God created the first man is that human kind always prefers forbidden fruit? So long as you tell the people of the Philippines that they can never be independent, so long will you be adding fuel to their already burning desire to be independent.

Mr. Chairman, perhaps the gentleman from Illinois, with his farsightedness, with his statesmanship, with his ability to look clearly into the dim and cloudy days of the far-distant future—qualities that fortune has not given me—is right in his expectations and his hope that the day will some time come when the Filipino people, after having been granted control of their domestic affairs and after having thus lived for so many years under the American flag—that would then mean to them the sovereignty of a strong and friendly nation, not the despotic rule of a tyrant master—may prefer to be permanently a self-governing colony of this empire rather than a free and independent republic borne by this mother of republics. But should that ever happen, it would be only after the preamble of this bill had received congressional approbation; only after the Filipino people had been told by the American people through its constitutional representative—the Congress—that they may if they so desire be some day an independent and sovereign nation. Then, and only then, the Filipino people, reassured as to your good faith, convinced that whatever you may pledge yourself to do is assured of fulfillment when once the pledge is given, no matter whether your selfish interests do or do not dictate otherwise—then, and only then, may the Filipino people of their own free will and spontaneous volition decide that they prefer to maintain a permanent political relationship with the United States. And then, and only then, can that relationship be beneficial to both peoples, a real protection to the Philippines and a source of strength to the United States.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] cited the present relations between Canada and Great Britain as an

illustration of what would surely come to pass were the Philippines to be granted full autonomy in the administration of their domestic affairs and were this preamble to be defeated. He called the attention of the committee to the spectacle offered by that self-governing colony in hastening to the aid of her mother country in the great war now raging in Europe.

In the first place, I can tell the gentleman that it is too premature to assert now that the political ties between Canada and Great Britain will never be severed. Who is wise enough to predict that when Canada shall have increased sufficiently in population and wealth she will still prefer to be a colony rather than a sovereign nation? But whatever may be the permanence or the character of the relations between England and Canada, they would offer no evidence as to what will be the course of future relations between the United States and the Philippines. Two very essential circumstances in the relationship between England and Canada are absent in the case of the United States and the Philippines. In the former case there exists a community of race and of origin. Second, and perhaps more important still, England has never felt called upon to violate the pledge of her Government or any of her preuders in order to proceed with her colonial policy toward Canada. No promise of independence was ever made to the Canadian people, and therefore the element of international distrust has never disturbed the mind of the Canadian people. The present connection of Canada with England has been the natural outgrowth of a political tie whose severance never was thought of or announced.

Mr. Chairmau, that is all I intend to say in connection with the speech of the gentleman from Illinois. I believe I have demonstrated for his benefit and for that of those who think with him that the only way to accomplish their purpose, if it could ever be accomplished, is by voting for this preamble and trusting to the future the development and determination of the final relationship between the United States and the Philippines. The retention of this preamble does not necessarily mean that you must grant the Philippines their independence, since, without being faithless, you could still retain your sovereignty over the islands should the Filipino people themselves, by common understanding with you, so desire, as the gentleman from Illinois thinks they might some day do. To those who assert that they do not want to retain the Philippines forever under the sovereignty of the United States, but that they would not vote for this preamble now because they do not believe that the day has yet arrived when independence should be granted, I say, if they are sincere in their protestations, they should vote for this preamble, because its language does not grant independence now, but simply states what they themselves admit to be their desire and their purpose. To those who believe in immediate independence I say that they should vote for this preamble because, while it does not grant immediate independence to the islands, it nevertheless does promise independence, and it is a long and decisive step toward actual independence.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now pass to another topic. Within a moment the committee will vote upon the bill, and I wish

to say a word of sincere and deep-felt appreciation of the manner in which the membership of the committee on both sides of the House have acted in the consideration of this measure. I am personally obliged to them all for the unfailing courtesy and kindly consideration with which they have listened to my words and have received my suggestions. My people are likewise indebted to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee. They owe you a debt of gratitude that will last during all the years to come as long as the Filipino people live, because, no matter what they do and how hard they try, they will never be able to discharge that immense obligation. For, after all is said, we are only an episode to you; you have lived and developed into what you are—a rich, enlightened, powerful commonwealth—without us; nay, without even knowing of us. Those ties that cause and explain the existence of sympathetic interest between peoples of different nationalities do not bind you to us—the ties of race, of common origin, of kinship. Whatever may be said as to whether we need you or not—whether we need you always or temporarily—there can be no question that you will be and continue to be what you are, occupying either with or without us the same leading place among the powers of the world you now do and doubtless advancing faster without us. The salaries that a handful of American employees draw from the Philippine Government are of no concern to you as a Nation. What part you may now or in the future take in the development of our trade you may as well enjoy without responsibility for us. And yet, I have had one more occasion to see during the debate of this bill the true regard that you feel for the Filipino people. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I have had confirmation during the consideration of this bill for what I said at the opening of the debate. Referring to the remark of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] that the Democratic Party had not kept faith with me, I said that not only had the Democratic Party kept faith with me, but that all parties—yes, every party in the United States—seem to be trying to do what they can for the Filipino people.

Mr. Chairman, the plane on which the members of the Republican side of this House have pitched their opposition to this bill has been a high one. Save some rather unedifying political maneuvers of a kind that seems to be unavoidable in every legislative body, and save certain unpleasant allusions to a past happily ended or that never existed except in the imagination of a few people, the whole trend of the debate, the remarks that have been made on both sides, the feeling among the Members which I have closely watched, all went to show conclusively that those who are for the bill and those who are against the bill have alike been prompted by the honest belief, by the upright motive, that their attitude was demanded by the best interests of the Filipino people themselves.

I wish, therefore, Mr. Chairman, to offer the most cordial thanks not only to those who have the credit for bringing forward this bill, but also to those who opposed it on so noble a ground. I wish to thank Democrats, Republicans, and Progressives alike. I wish to express to the American people my strong

gratification that through the consideration of this measure, important as it is for the welfare of my people and so decisive for their future, the good will of this Nation toward us has been once more manifested through all its representatives, irrespective of party politics.

Mr. Chairman, when I return home it will be my pleasure, as well as my duty, to tell my people that you are really our best friends—every one of you. There is only one difference, so far as I have been able to see, between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party—I say nothing of the Progressive Party, because it has not in its own capacity as a political body had opportunity to deal with us—and that difference is this, that the Democratic Party in trying to do by us what it thinks is the best is more precisely in accord with our wishes, while the Republican Party, in trying to do by us what it thinks is best, is disregarding our wishes. Since, in my opinion, every nation, like every individual, knows better than its neighbors what is best for it, it would seem that the Democratic Party is in all probability the one that will do precisely what is best for us.

The Republican Party was in power during the first 14 years following American occupation of the Philippines. During that time Republican Congresses were able to enact, without being obstructed by the then existing minority, legislation that accomplished some good things for us. The organic act which gave us the assembly, and the tariff measures which increased the opportunities of our farmers and our merchants, are the two most important elements, in this legislation. It is proper, Mr. Chairman, that the minority should now cooperate with the majority. I hope, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that the minority will find it convenient and wise, although withdrawing their approval if they so prefer, to let this measure pass unhindered, and also allow it speedily to become a law. And should it become a law we shall write with the fervor of gratitude in the annals of our country a glorious page bearing the names of the Members of the Sixty-third Congress. [Applause.]

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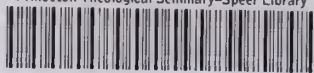
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